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GEN. GEORGE ARMSTRONG CUSTER

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GEORGE ARMSTRONG CUSTER

BY FRED DUSTIN

SAGINAW

GEORGE ARMSTRONG CUSTER, son of Emmanuel and Maria Ward Fitzpatrick Custer, was born near New Rumley, Ohio, December 6, 1839.

His ancestry has been obscured by legend. His first biographer, Frederick Whittaker says: "The name of Custer was originally Küster, and the grandfather of Emmanuel Custer came from Germany, but Emmanuel's father was born in America. The grandfather was one of those same Hessian officers over whom colonists wasted so many curses."¹ Of this Van de Water says, "The tale . . . is the earliest of the Custer legends," and that "The only soldier discernable in the ancestry of George Armstrong was his great-grandfather, Emmanuel, born in Allegheny County, Maryland, 1754, and one time sergeant in the 8th Company, 10th Philadelphia County Militia."²

Custer grew up a country boy, living in a period of political and social ferment, with slavery as a sinister background. His was a family who saw nothing good in Whigs, being ardent Democrats in a State where free-soil principles had taken a strong root and human slavery had long been considered as a national curse by a large part of the people.

¹Whittaker, Frederick. *A Complete Life of Gen. George A. Custer* (N. Y., 1876). p. 5.

²Van de Water, Frederic F., *Glory-Hunter* (Indianapolis, 1934), p. 20.

Although they knew it not, war was in the air, and in 1857, Custer, now seventeen, had already felt the stirrings of that military spirit that was to mark the rest of his days. In consequence of this, he applied to the Whig congressman, John A. Bingham, for a cadetship at West Point, and in due time received the appointment, signed by the then Secretary of War, Jefferson Davis. The record shows that he entered the Military Academy July 1, 1857, having been accepted after the preliminary examinations in June.

His cadet years were rather turbulent, and he says of himself in his unfinished Memoirs, "My career as a cadet had but little to commend it to the study of those who came after me, unless as an example to be carefully avoided."³ He further says referring to extra tours of guard duty as a punishment for violation of regulations: "I devoted sixty-six Saturdays to this method of vindicating outraged military law, during my cadetship of four years." At that time, the West Point course was five years, but the sudden outbreak of the Civil War with its need of trained officers, caused the authorities to graduate Custer's class at the end of the fourth year, July 1, 1861.

At West Point there are certain books in manuscript officially known as "Record of Cadets." From this Record it appears that Cadet Custer was anything but a model. Van de Water quoting from the Record says:⁴ "One hundred demerits in any six-months period supposedly caused the delinquent's expulsion from the academy. During his first half-year, Custer ran up one hundred and twenty-nine. This total was reduced by some unidentified Samaritan to sixty-nine." This was probably done by some officer in authority who saw certain soldierly qualities in a young man whose record of insubordination, inattention to regulations as well as lack of scholarly attainment did not seem to warrant his continuance as a prospective officer. In 1860 during its first half, he had

³Custer, George A., "War Memoirs," *Galaxy Magazine*, April, 1876.

⁴Van de Water, *op. cit.*, p. 29.

again accumulated by March 18, one hundred and twenty-nine marks against him, kindly reduced to ninety-nine by some "unidentified 'S.B.H.'" according to Van de Water. The "S.B.H." was undoubtedly Lieut. Samuel B. Holibird, then Adjutant at the academy, and later Brigadier-General and Quartermaster General of the army. Again, by the 28th of June, 1861, while the cadets were in the summer camp, he had a total of 149 demerits for the half-year. It was the custom at the academy to permit each graduate during the encampment, to act as officer of the guard for at least one tour of duty, so it happened that on the 29th of June, Custer was thus honored. While so acting, a fist-fight broke out in his immediate vicinity, which it was his duty to suppress, and to report to the proper officer, but instead of performing the duty, he rushed in and pushing aside some cadets who were endeavoring to separate the contestants, he shouted, "Stand back, boys; let's have a fair fight."⁵ It so happened that Lieut. William B. Hazen, Officer of the day, was near at hand, and took cognizance of the affair, resulting in Custer's arrest, and as punishment he received five demerits.

Throughout Custer's writings there is a very strong tendency to overstatement, and not infrequently a carelessness in regard to truth that seems disconcerting. An example is found in the "Memoirs" in which this statement by him occurs following the order for the class to proceed to Washington: "My name did not appear on this class list. I was to be detained, to await the application of the commandant for a court-martial to sit on my case. . . . The court was assembled at West Point. . . . I was arraigned with all the solemnity and gravity which might be looked for in a trial for high treason. . . . The trial was brief, scarcely occupying more time than did the primary difficulty." A glance at the "Official Regulations for the United States Military Academy," will show that this was a comparatively trivial offense coming under the head of "immoralities, neglects, or misbehavior," but in Custer's case

⁵See article cited in note 3.

it was a final source of demerits. The Record shows he was not court-martialed, but it is very evident that on account of the great accumulation of demerits, his case was held under consideration, thus delaying the receipt of his diploma.

Here it may be observed that the proceedings of a court-martial take considerably longer than the possible five minutes Custer took in the fight. It is more than probable that the urgent need for officers was the factor that governed his release, but it was not until mid-July that he reached Washington, a second-lieutenant of the Second Cavalry, as of date June 24, 1861; a fateful day and a fateful month, for on that day, fifteen years thereafter, he made a decision that cost him his life, and the lives of a quarter of a thousand with him. He was Number 34 in a class of thirty-four, for about twenty had deserted the government they had sworn to defend, and entered the Rebellion as officers bearing commissions of the "seceding" States.

Custer joined his company, and was at the battle of Bull Run, but more as a spectator. In August he was transferred to the Fifth Cavalry; was promoted to first-lieutenant July 17, 1862; became an aide to General George B. McClellan in June of that year with temporary rank of captain, in which service he continued until March 31, 1863, and on June 29 of that year he was appointed brigadier-general of volunteers.

The high water mark of the Rebellion was at hand. Lee was in Pennsylvania and Meade was on his track. The armies collided at the little town of Gettysburg in a never-to-be-forgotten battle. Here in command of the Michigan Cavalry Brigade, Custer distinguished himself on July 1st and 2nd. Although his official report of the fighting was quite florid, it was characteristic, for he says: "I challenge the annals of warfare to produce a more brilliant charge of cavalry," referring to that of the Seventh Michigan which he led.

In spite of war and its glory, he had found time to pay court to a young girl he had casually met in Monroe, Michigan, while on a visit to his married sister who resided there.

She was Elizabeth Bacon, daughter of Judge Daniel Bacon, a prominent citizen of Monroe, who at first for good reasons, had frowned upon Custer's suit, but who later somewhat relented and the couple were married February 28, 1864. From that date, Custer had a worshipper whose idolatry knew no bounds, and who persuaded herself and influenced others in the belief that in her husband she was united with a Jovian personality in whom no error or wrong could be found.

By May, 1864, the Army of the Potomac was ready for a fresh campaign. It moved southward to the Wilderness, and again the guns spoke. Grant was now in supreme command in that quarter, and such battles as Cold Harbor and Trevilian Station were fought; then came Shenandoah Valley with its spectacular battles, and again Custer gained fresh distinction. The battle of Winchester followed; then Cedar Creek.

The war was reaching its final stages, and late in March, 1865, the cavalry corps of which Custer now commanded a division, went into Camp "behind the extreme left of Grant's Army of the Potomac."⁶ Then came the surrender. Again quoting "Whittaker: ". . . the surrender at Appomattox left him with the highest individual fame as a cavalry commander of any man except Sheridan;" and enlarging on this, Whittaker gives the logical reasons for it, which summed up, amount to this: Custer was very young, only twenty-three, and fortune had greatly favored him in some ways. He was a born showman, and affected long hair, a very wide-brimmed slouch hat, a flowing red neck-tie, and a gorgeous velvet jacket ornamented from wrist to elbow with knots of gold braid. He had caught the public eye and become a popular hero. His battle reports were verbose, egotistical and highly spectacular, very natural to his years and temperament, and at Lee's surrender, he contrived to occupy a place in the lime-light that added to his fame and popularity.

On April 9, 1865, Lee's army laid down its arms, and six days later, on April 15, Custer was commissioned major-gen-

⁶Whittaker, *op cit.*, p. 279.

eral of volunteers. At that date his actual army rank was captain, although he had received several regular army brevets as high as major-general, which gave him a certain standing whereby he outranked at times, officers of far longer service and equal army rank. The brevet system which had prevailed since Revolutionary times, finally became such a manifest source of injustice and favoritism, that it was wisely abolished, so that at present the question of rank is reduced to its simplest terms, and it is no longer possible to assign a second-lieutenant to his brevet rank and put him in command of a full colonel.

The Grand Review came with another spectacular incident that was well calculated to add to Custer's popularity. While there is more than one version of the affair, it may well be accepted as an accident, although this has been questioned. Before Custer's command had reached the reviewing stand, his horse, a rather intractable stallion that had been captured by some of Custer's scouts and had come into his possession, broke into a run, and dashed away and on past President Johnson, General Grant and other dignitaries, but Custer "by one of the most magnificent exhibitions of horsemanship, in a moment reined in the flying charger, and returned to his troops."⁷ It was said in one news story that the horse was frightened by bouquets thrown by girls, three hundred of them, "who as the brave fellow drew nigh, had risen simultaneously, and bursting into the song, 'Hail to the Chief,' each threw a bouquet or wreath at him." Such was the language of the day, when exalted by victory, and such was the birth of a legend, still repeated like other legends, with rather wide variations, but in keeping with the central figure, whose red hair became "golden," and whose personality took on other adornments not always perceptible to a sober mind.

The end of the war found the country with a regular army of perhaps fifteen thousand men, and as a consequence, it was deemed necessary to retain many regiments of the volunteers

⁷*Detroit News* as quoted by Whittaker, *op. cit.*, p. 313-14.

owing to unsettled conditions, but almost without exception, these men were clamorous to go home, for they had enlisted at the farthest, "until the end of the war;" as a consequence there was wide-spread discontent. It was said, whether with truth or not, that most of the Eastern regiments were mustered out, while those retained were from the West. If so, it was natural, for many Western regiments were stationed in Louisiana, Texas and adjacent regions, and thus were logically kept. It came about that many thousands of soldiers were not discharged until a year after the war was over. At this time Custer was sent to Texas. It may have been presumed that his great popularity would go far towards modifying the unrest, but it would have been difficult for the authorities to have found a general officer as temperamentally unfitted, or with fewer qualifications for the work, for he was far too young, too autocratic and too conceited. Moreover, he had no experience whatever in subordinate command where the officer comes in personal contact with the enlisted men. He attempted a rule of iron; had some men flogged and their heads shaved.⁸ It happened that the Third Michigan Cavalry which had the reputation of being one of the best in the service, mutinied, although the "mutiny" was a rather tame affair. Ninety of its members were put in arrest and tried, but the trial was a farce and the regiment was disbanded; still, a hatred had been engendered, that remotely was a factor in later events.

Custer was then mustered out of the volunteer service, Feb. 1, 1866, and reverted to his army rank of captain. Andrew Johnson was President. As a "war Democrat," he had been as a matter of political expediency nominated over a loyal Republican, Hannibal Hamlin, for Vice-President, and on Lincoln's death, had succeeded to the Presidency. Very wisely, the Congress greatly increased the regular army, thereby creating hundreds of positions for new officers; so it came about that those who stood in President Johnson's favor, including

⁸Whittaker, *op. cit.*, pp. 322-3.

a little later, a swarm of those contemptible traitors known in the North as "copperheads," became very influential in the distribution of commissions which were handed out by the score to drunkards, decayed politicians, gamblers, and foreign soldiers of fortune and others with political influence, who were anything but a credit to the appointing power and a serious detriment to the army. Sixteen per cent of the infantry and cavalry officers were foreign-born, mostly Irish and German, who were able to obtain commissions as majors, captains and first-lieutenants, where far better Americans were unable to get second-lieutenancies.^{9, 10}

The Seventh Cavalry was one of the new regiments organized, and Custer became its lieutenant-colonel. Its officers were a variegated assortment, with only five, the colonel, lieutenant-colonel, one major and two second-lieutenants West Point graduates, though all but the two last had served in the Civil War. The enlisted men averaged about as good in quality as the officers, not a high standard by any means. From the date of its organization until the Little Big Horn fight, Custer was in command of the regiment much of the time, as its colonels, first Smith and later Sturgis, were on detached duty; so that another legend grew, that the Seventh was "Custer's regiment;" that is, he was its actual colonel, and the indiscriminate use of brevet titles always made him "General" Custer, which under the system was entirely fair when properly used, but there were majors in the regiment, Reno among them, entitled to be called General; yet we never hear of "General" Reno.

In the spring of 1866, Custer entered into negotiations with the Mexican government to become chief of cavalry for its President, Jaurez, then at war with Maximillian. Johnson wisely vetoed this proposition; but only a few weeks later he gave Custer the lieutenant-colonelcy, and in his dubious trip facetiously called "Swinging Round the Circle," offered him

⁹Dustin, Fred, *The Custer Tragedy* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1939), p. 8, note 2.

¹⁰Army Register, 1866 to 1876 inclusive.

the colonelcy of one of the newly organized negro regiments, which Custer declined, as it was said, because he did not care to command a black regiment, and further, because there was an uncertainty as to whether the experiment of negro troops would be permanent. On this Presidential tour, Custer and his wife were of the party, but to Custer it was a mixture of gratification and embarrassment. He loved the gaud and glitter of publicity and adulation, but the reception of the President in his home State and community, was not of a nature to add to the otherwise agreeable association.

In the spring of 1867, General W. S. Hancock in command of the military division having its headquarters at Fort Leavenworth, started with about 1,400 officers and men on an expedition against the Indians of that region, several companies of the Seventh Cavalry under Custer being a part of the command. There was much marching without important results except angering the Indians, but it eventually started a series of far-reaching events which did have some serious results.¹¹ At the close of Hancock's expedition, he ordered Custer on a long scout with specific orders to do certain things, but Custer's inveterate tendency to do as he pleased in the absence of his superior officer, brought about his arrest and court-martial in which he was found guilty of absenting himself without leave from his command; marching a portion of his command as an escort for himself on private business without authority; damaging the horses of the escort by over-marching; abandoning two soldiers who were reported killed on this march; failing to pursue the Indians who made this attack, or recovering the bodies of the dead soldiers; ordering a party sent in pursuit of deserters to shoot them and bring in none alive, whereby three were shot, one dying; ordering the three wounded men to be put in a wagon and hauled 15 miles, and refusing to allow medical attention during the

¹¹Report of General of the Army, 1867.

trip. He was found guilty on every count and sentenced to suspension for a year from rank and pay.¹²

These events occurred chiefly in the last half of 1867, less than a year after the organization of the regiment, and the charges against Custer were preferred by his colonel, Andrew J. Smith, then detached as district commander, and one of his captains, Robert M. West, although it was said that Hancock's indignation at Custer's acts was the direct cause for the charges. Even before this early date, dissensions had appeared in the Seventh Cavalry, something to be expected where drunkards, gamblers and political appointees held so many commissions, and where through that same political influence, a brother and a brother-in-law of Custer's held commissions in the regiment, so that it is not at all strange that in the first five years three officers were cashiered or dismissed, two deserted and a number were forced to resign.¹³ The events of the summer brought about a life-long enmity between officers in the Seventh Cavalry that even time did not heal.

During Custer's suspension, the regiment was under the command of one of its majors, Joel H. Elliot, a fine young man, veteran of the Civil War, but whose command was rather fruitless during his tenure, for he was without experience in the irregular warfare of the plains, and the regiment had not recovered from the demoralization due to its late campaign; so Lieut.-Colonel Alfred Sully, district commander, Gen. Sheridan, and most of the officers of Custer's regiment, petitioned the higher authorities for his release and return to his own regiment. As most of the term of his sentence had expired, the petition was granted and Custer was again in command of the Seventh Cavalry. The station of the regiment was changed, and some parts of it saw a little skirmishing with the Indians, which in Custer's book¹⁴ was magnified into a battle, although he was not present. In November came the Battle of the Washita, an attack on a small Cheyenne

¹²Records, Judge-Advocate General's Office, 1867.

¹³Army Registers, 1867-1872.

¹⁴Custer, Gen. George A., *My Life On the Plains* (N. Y., 1874).

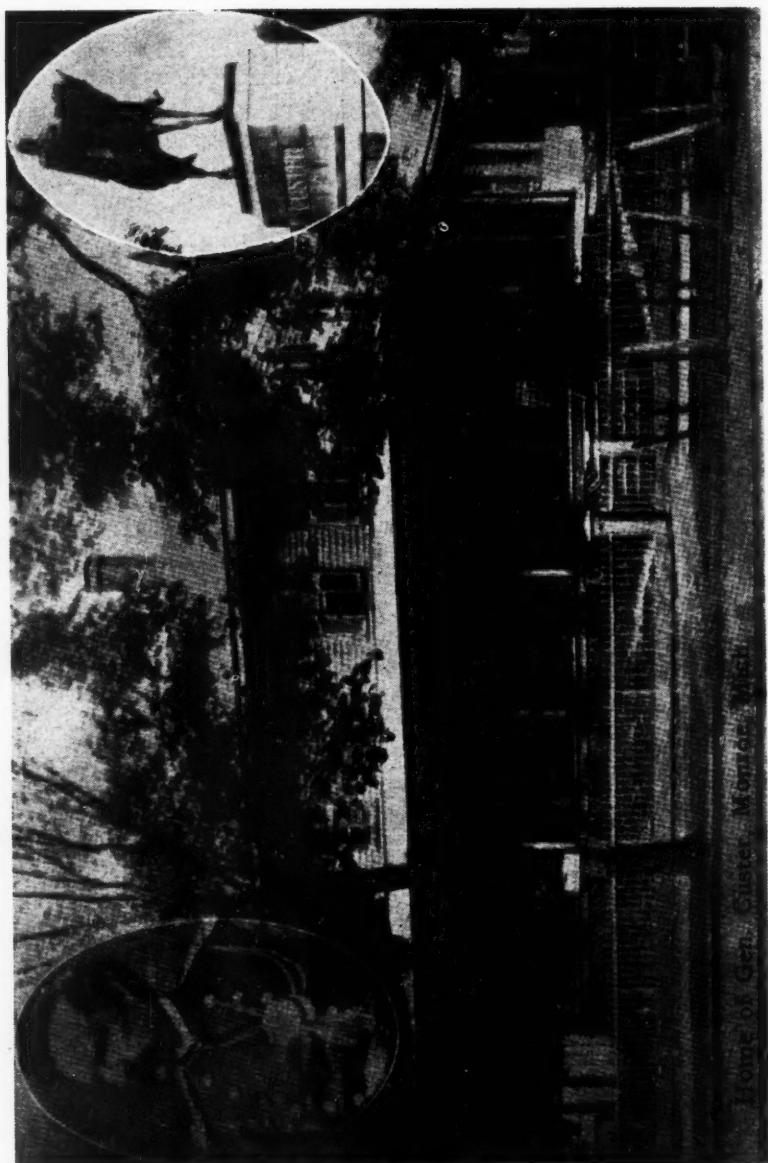
village on a bitterly cold night. Custer's official report stated that one hundred and three warriors were killed, and "some women and children." It appears to be a fact that most of the warriors in the camp, including old men and boys, were slain, but during the fight, Major Elliot, the sergeant-major and fifteen non-commissioned officers and men were cut off and killed, although their fate was unlearned for many days after. Owing to this, another rift in the regiment opened; but Washita was hailed as a great victory.

There was much movement and marching that year and part of the next, but no further fighting for the Seventh, and in 1870, the regiment was sent to the South where disorders prevailed over "reconstruction," the companies being scattered at small posts, to one of which, at a small place in Kentucky, Custer was assigned in command of two companies.

Early in 1873, most of the regiment was ordered to Dakota, and assembled at Yankton. From thence it marched overland six hundred miles to Fort Rice, where Custer reported to Colonel David S. Stanley who was organizing an expedition to the Yellowstone River as an escort to the Northern Pacific Railroad surveyors. The command was Stanley's own infantry regiment and most of the Seventh Cavalry. During this expedition, Custer and parts of his regiment had one quite heavy skirmish and a smaller one with Indians, and also managed to get himself in trouble for disobedience of orders, and was put in arrest by Stanley who would brook no insubordination.¹⁵ It was said that mutual friends interceded for Custer, and he was released without further proceedings some days later.

Custer's official report of this expedition was in his usual florid style, and his story of it as it appeared in the *Galaxy Magazine* of July, 1876, gave the impression that nothing was done except by his own regiment, during the whole expedition.

¹⁵Johnson, W. Fletcher, *Life and History of Sitting Bull* (n. p., n. d.), p. 132; also, *Personal Memoirs of David S. Stanley* (Cambridge, 1917).



Home of Girls' Center, North H. Hall

In 1874 the government sent an ostensibly scientific expedition to the Black Hills, guarded by a military escort, but the scientific part was represented by very few scientists, while the escort comprised ten companies of the Seventh Cavalry, two companies of infantry, sixty Indian scouts, four Gatling guns and a very long wagon-train loaded with supplies. While the Indians were bitterly opposed to this invasion of their rightfully owned lands, the command was too strong for any hope of successful attack, so the expedition was more in the nature of a pleasure excursion than otherwise. A little gold was found, and widely reported with the natural result of increasing the invasion of lawless gold-hunters, to say nothing of other even less desirable characters.

We now come to a period where tragic events were in the making. A presidential election was near, and the party not in power was seeking ammunition to use against the party in power. Custer belonged to the former. Some years before, the army sutler, a travelling merchant attached to regiments during the Civil War, had been very properly superseded by stationary merchants at military posts who were necessarily granted exclusive rights as such at stations within the military reservations. They had nothing to do with Indian traders, who were named by the Interior Department; but historians, pseudo-historians and politicians have put them all in the same category with the usual consequences of misstatement, general charges of misconduct, graft, stealing and political intrigue. While not a few of these charges were true as to Indian agents, it was false as to post-traders in general, for they under the eyes of commanding officers, operated within army posts, and any extortions or irregularities were under immediate scrutiny, so that they were under a check entirely unknown in the Indian Department at that period. However, it was true that at the larger posts the profits were large; consequently, the appointments were sought, and as they were made by the Secretary of War under the law, they naturally went in part by favor. Around 1872, a New York City business man named Marsh had

applied for and received a conditional appointment of post trader at Fort Sill, a large post in Indian Territory. The condition in substance was that Marsh should buy out the trader Evans, then operating there, for if he was obliged to move his stock under the existing conditions, it must be at a ruinous loss. After some negotiations a "partnership" was entered into, wherein Marsh was to share in the proceeds but without any investment except his appointment. It appears from the record that Mrs. William W. Belknap, wife of the Secretary of War, and her sister, who after the death of Mrs. Belknap became the General's second wife, were socially intimate, with the Marshes, having met them in New York, and during a serious illness, Mrs. Belknap, then at the Marsh home, had been cared for very kindly by the Marsh family. Through the intercession of Mrs. Belknap, Marsh, who was only casually known to the Secretary of War, received his appointment. On receiving his first dividend, he had proposed to Mrs. Belknap that he make a "present" to Belknap, but she had informed him that if he offered to do so, he would be kicked out without ceremony; she would accept the gift; but the Secretary must never know of it. She accepted, but not long after, died, and in due time her sister who had an independent fortune of her own, became the second Mrs. Belknap, and received through her husband, checks or drafts from Marsh, which she represented to be from her own investments. Four years previously, Col. William B. Hazen, commanding officer at Fort Sill, had sent in a complaint that the post-trader's prices were too high, in consequence of which, Belknap ordered a complete report, and after consulting with Gen. Irvin McDowell, the latter drew an order for the Secretary, correcting conditions, which the latter submitted to the Attorney-General to pass on as to its legality. It was approved and issued, and the post-tradership slept comfortably for four years.

1876 was a year of spectacular events, social, political, and military for which the stage had been set by war and its aftermath. Unique personalities had appeared in places high and

low, and none more unique in the low section than "Colonel George A. Armes, U.S.A." It is strange how Fate weaves her web, and how in Custer's short life, certain individuals appear as factors, either unconsciously or through purpose, in the ever-changing picture with its tragic ending on the Little Big Horn. Although practically unknown to history as far as Custer was concerned, it was Armes who awakened the Fort Sill tradership early in 1876: we shall see why.

Col. Armes was a "distinguished" officer, but the distinction was mostly due to the fact that he had been under military arrest twenty-five times: had been court-martialed and dismissed: reinstated: retired, again court-martialed and suspended for five years, along with other court-martials ad interim. Later he published his autobiography, a book of over 800 pages, and one reading it, becomes bewildered by his attacks on officers of the army, high and low, as well as civil officials, to say nothing of his remarkable series of arrests.

Among those who naturally excited his enmity, was the Secretary of War, and in the copious index to his book, *Ups and Downs of an Army Officer*, we find these entries: "hostility of Belknap; his charges against Belknap; writes to him; causes his resignation;" The "writes to him" item is of special interest, for it is really a blackmailing letter with his object, restoration in the army. In consequence of his action, aided to a certain extent by another army officer who had been cashiered by sentence of court martial, who also attempted blackmail,¹⁶ he was able to gain the ear of certain democratic politicians in using the Fort Sill tradership for campaign material against the Administration. Real issues were scarce, for the panic of 1873 was accepted by sensible people as the aftermath of war. Still there were "carpetbaggers", who figured in "reconstruction." That the efforts of the government to bring about peace in the South were not always wise, is very true; on the other hand, while there was plenty of physical courage in the South, moral courage became an almost unknown quality. Had there

¹⁶*Trial of William W. Belknap, 1876* (Wash., Gov. Printing Office), p. 661.

been the moral courage of Lee and a few other leaders, to have accepted the decisions of the sword, instead of trying to nullify it by evasions, conspiracies, and finally the outrages ending in stern suppression by military force, two or three years would have sufficed to have brought about a reasonable measure of tranquility. Instead, every effort of Southern demagogues and Northern copperheads, aided by city rings of the Tammany order, was put forth to gain political control of the Nation, and had so far succeeded as to secure a majority in the House of Representatives; among them were Northern congressmen who were blackened by disloyalty.

Fate was busy. We now go back to Custer's court-martial to pick up some other threads, for that same court tried Armes on his second military trial, and from that time he continued in touch with Custer. At his third court-martial Armes says (page 325 of his book): "Custer who was one of the spectators in the courtroom, at once authorized me to call him before the court, . . ." to prove that a member of that body was disqualified, being a liar, etc., but failed to do so.

Later on, we find Armes in consultation with Custer and others in regard to the Marsh-Evans affair, as well as Clymer, the chairman of the sub-committee to look into what became popularly known as "the sale of post-traderships;" and the campaign document, printed at government expense, was so titled, although it was not found that a single tradership had been "sold." Such is partisan politics. But in Belknap's case truth is indeed stranger than fiction, for he was so involved by both of his wives, that although he was guiltless, his hands were tied and his mouth closed; to tell the truth openly, which under pressure by him had been revealed by his second wife, would bring the worst calamity to the reputation of his first wife, and very possibly, punishment to the second. It was an almost unprecedented situation, and the story has never been

fully told.¹⁷ Those who knew Belknap best, senators, soldiers of both parties who had been comrades in arms, were witnesses to his honor and integrity, but he peremptorily refused to allow his counsel at the impeachment trial to bring out the whole truth. The keen mind of Senator John A. Logan saw there was a great gap in the testimony, but was unable at the time to understand its significance. Mrs. Belknap left the country at once following the revelation, and remained in Europe.

The drama was completed when Belknap learned the truth. He at once went to President Grant with the whole story. Grant immediately demanded and received his resignation.¹⁸ Following this, a committee of the House of Representatives which was controlled by a Democratic majority, had been named to investigate post traderships, and among others, Custer was called and gave testimony. Unfortunately for him, his testimony was almost entirely hearsay, eleven large, closely printed pages of it, and that which was not hearsay, was later humbly apologized for and retracted by him, as having been a mistake on his part. It came out also, that he had aided and abetted a certain newspaper correspondent who had "discovered" many things which did not exist, and had also cast aspersions on several persons in close touch with the President. His testimony was throughout of such nature,¹⁹ so filled with mere assertion and sarcastic innuendo, that although he had been supposed to be the star witness he was an embarrassment to the Democratic majority of the committee; nevertheless, his assertions were published far and wide as gospel truth by certain anti-administration papers.

At this time, early in 1876, General Alfred H. Terry, in command of the Department of Dakota, was organizing an expedi-

¹⁷The writer of this paper has attempted to tell it in part in his book, cited in note 9, but much remains untold, and at this late day when justice can only be rendered to the dead, it is not necessary to go into the disreputable details of proceedings that deceived thousands of honest men, and caused dishonest demagogues to rejoice.

¹⁸Grant, Jesse R., *In The Days of My Father, General Grant*, p. 121.

¹⁹Sale of Post Traderships, House Report 799, 44th Congress, 1st Session, pp. 152-164.

tion against hostile Indians supposed to be located somewhere in that great expanse roughly bounded by the Platte River on the south, the Missouri on the east and north, and the Rocky Mountains on the west. Custer's station was at Fort Abraham Lincoln on the west side of the Missouri River, with Bismarck, the terminus of the Northern Pacific Railroad on the east side. As Custer was the senior officer with the Seventh Cavalry, his presence was much desired by Terry whose headquarters were at St. Paul. Custer was still detained at Washington. When it was determined to impeach Belknap, Custer was supposed to be a witness at the trial; but after the fiasco at the Clymer committee, it was evident that as far as facts were concerned, he would be a serious liability to the prosecution instead of an asset, so he was released. The President had taken exception to his testimony, as had Sherman and Sheridan. They could not do otherwise for Custer was an army officer, and although put on his oath, he had failed to present a single fact that had any real bearing on the matter. He had gone so far as to bring in a brother of Grant as a possible buyer or seller of post-traderships.²⁰ Through the Commanding General, W. T. Sherman, the President had ordered that Custer should not be permitted to go in command of the expedition, but that some other competent officer should go in his place,²¹ while Custer was detained in Washington. That Custer felt this keenly there can be no doubt, but what his biographer Whittaker called "his generous impulsiveness" had proved a boomerang, for while the impulsiveness was fully in evidence, the generosity was lacking, and that same impulsiveness led him to leave Washington without orders,²² bound for his post at Fort Lincoln. As soon as Sherman learned of this, he sent a telegram to Sheridan, Division Commander at Chicago, to detain him in arrest, although later he was permitted to go on to St. Paul, where he sought the intercession of Terry, his immediate commander, and one of

²⁰*Ibid.*, p. 158.

²¹*Journal of the Military Service Institution of the U. S.*, Vol. 18, Jan. 1896, p. 12.

²²*Ibid.*, p. 10.

the most kindly, self-sacrificing men who wore the army blue; after due consideration, it had been determined by Sheridan that Terry should go in personal command of the expedition. As a consequence, Terry wrote a very respectful letter to the President, every word of which he composed, which was signed by Custer, and properly endorsed by Terry, ending with the following words: "I do not know the reasons upon which the orders given rest; but if these reasons do not forbid it, Lieutenant-Colonel Custer's services would be very valuable with his regiment." This was forwarded through military channels, first to Sheridan, whose stinging endorsement²³ was a bitter castigation of Custer, although he did not further oppose his plea. As Sherman was next, he submitted it to the President, and Sherman says in part (to Terry): "General Custer's urgent request has been submitted to the President, who sent me word that if you want Custer along he withdraws his objections. Advise Custer to be prudent, not to take along any newspaper men, who always make mischief. . ."

It will be seen by this that Terry was "the power behind the throne" in even permitting Custer to go in command of his regiment. There was probably no officer in the service whose requests would be granted more quickly than those of Terry.

Terry and his staff and Custer took the same train for Bismarck and Fort Lincoln, which in the absence of Custer was under the command of Major Marcus A. Reno, an officer with a fine Civil War record, in which he received several brevets, the last, that of brigadier-general, "for gallant and meritorious conduct."

The expedition was soon on the march. It consisted of the entire Seventh Cavalry, three companies of infantry, three Gatling runs manned by two infantry officers and thirty-two men, forty Indian scouts, nearly all Arikaras or as commonly called, "Rees," and a long train of supply wagons with civilian employees. The march westward began May 17, 1876, and the command arrived at the Yellowstone on the tenth of June.

²³Ibid, p. 13.

Long previous to this date, Colonel John Gibbon, in command of the Montana District, had by Terry's orders, assembled six companies of his regiment, the Seventh Infantry, with four of the Second Cavalry under Major James S. Brisbin and marched to the Yellowstone River with orders to patrol it eastward to prevent if possible, hostile Indians crossing it to the north. Gibbon had all told, about 450 officers and men with 25 Crow Indian Scouts, Minton (Mitch) Bouyer, a noted scout, and a couple of squaw-men interpreters, one of whom proved to be worse than worthless. He sent out several scouting parties, one, of two companies of cavalry, who went south up the Big Horn River as far as old Fort C. F. Smith, an abandoned relic of the memorable "Bozeman Road" defenses, the others being Fort Reno on the headwaters of the Powder, and Fort Phil Kearny, near which the Fetterman fight had taken place, the entire command being killed. On the return of this scouting party, it followed down the Little Big Horn for several miles, leaving it near the present Crow Agency, and crossing the divide to Tullock's Creek, followed that stream down to its mouth in the Big Horn, four miles above the junction of the latter with the Yellowstone. They met no Indians, but other scouts made toward the Tongue and Rosebud, had located large camps. On meeting Terry, Gibbon communicated all this to him, and in addition, the former sent Reno with half of the Seventh Cavalry far up the Powder, at the mouth of which the supply depot had been established under Major Orlando Moore with three companies of the Sixth Infantry and the three infantry companies of Terry's column.

Reno's scout struck the trail of the Indians whose camp Gibbon's scouts had seen, and followed it to the Rosebud, along which it continued southward. Returning from his farthest point up the Rosebud, Reno reported to Terry on the Yellowstone. With this information Terry decided on his course of action, and held a consultation with Gibbon and Custer with Brisbin present. He outlined his plan and issued a written order to Custer who was to proceed up the Rosebud, while Gibbon

with his command and the Gatling guns, were to march up near the mouth of the Big Horn, where the Steamer Far West would ferry him across to proceed to the Little Big Horn, and if possible, bring the hostile Indians between the anvil and the sledge, Gibbon's command being the anvil, the more mobile Seventh Cavalry the sledge. It was a good plan, *but it depended on cooperation*. This was to be effected by Custer's scouting ahead, and when near the headwaters of Tullock's Creek, to examine that district carefully, and send a scout down that stream to meet men from Gibbon with information of all discovered. For this purpose, George Herendeen (properly, George Herndon) a very competent scout with Gibbon, was sent with Custer, who also was given six of Gibbon's best Crow scouts, with Bouyer, undoubtedly the best and keenest in that whole northern region.

In a brief sketch of such a dramatic event, it is impossible to go into any detail. The Indians, from all reports and indications, were believed to be somewhere on the Little Big Horn, and Terry's deductions had very accurately placed them about where they were actually found. His orders were therefore in accordance, and in part explicit, admitting of no such interpretation, play upon words, surmises and suggestions that in the minds of many, have clouded the issue, and in others, completely blinded them to the facts. Let us examine a few sentences of Terry's written order in which he says (referring to himself):

"He will, however, indicate to you his views of what your action should be, and he desires that you should conform to them unless you should see sufficient reason for departing from them. He thinks you should proceed up the Rosebud until you ascertain definitely the direction in which the trail above spoken of leads. Should it be found (as it appears to be almost certain that it will be found) to turn toward the Little Big Horn, he thinks you should still proceed southward, perhaps as far as the headwaters of the Tongue, then turn toward the Little Horn, feeling constantly, however, to your left, so as to preclude the possibility of the escape of the Indians to the south or south-

east, passing around your left flank. . . . The department commander desires that on your way up the Rosebud, you should thoroughly examine the upper part of Tullock's Creek; and that you should endeavor to send a scout through to Colonel Gibbon's column with information of the result of your examination. The lower part of this creek will be examined by a detachment from Col. Gibbon's command."²⁴

With this order in his pocket, Custer marched his regiment in review before Terry and Gibbon, Brisbin being present, about noon of June 22, and encamped for the night after an advance of twelve miles. The march of June 23 brought the command to a point a few miles above the present little settlement called Lee; distance thirty-three miles. On the 24th, camp was made at 7:45 P.M., near the present hamlet named Busby. At this point, the headwaters of Tullock's Creek were not far over the divide to the northwest, but no scouting in that direction had been done nor had there been any suggestion of it: in fact, Varnum, who commanded the scouts in a personal letter said: "Tullock's Creek was never mentioned to me . . . it was not scouted at all."

We find Custer at the parting of the ways, for here the great Indian trail turned to the right up a little stream now called Davis Creek. There were plenty of competent scouts with Custer, Rees as well as the six Crows; they had orders to follow the trail, and at nine o'clock they returned with the information that the trail crossed the divide, and led down to the Little Big Horn. From this camp to the summit of the divide, it is about twelve miles, and from the summit to the heart of the great Indian camp in the valley of the Little Big Horn it was about eighteen miles. At this distance, it can hardly be said that "Custer was nearly in contact with the enemy," but this is a string that has been harped upon by Custer partisans, and made an excuse for a palpable disobedience of orders. He elected to follow the trail—and paid the penalty. June 24 was indeed a day of fate for him, although he died on June 25th.

²⁴*Report of the Secretary of War*, Volume I, Wash., 1876, p. 462.

At this camp Custer was about as near the headwaters of Tullock as he would be at any point, five or six miles, and at that moment, Gibbon's command was camped for the night on Tullock's Creek fifty miles or less distant. From Gibbon's camp there, it was about forty miles over the most feasible route to the great Indian camp Custer's scouts had located. From Custer's it was thirty. Had Custer remained there, sending a scout to Terry as per his orders, the scout would have met those from Gibbon who had ascended Tullock's ten miles early in the morning of the 25th, in expectation of meeting Herendeen who was looked for with great anxiety, but came not. Nor did Custer "proceed farther south," but the march was resumed up Davis Creek at about 1:00 A.M., the morning of the 25th, and continued until daylight. Officers and men, horses and mules were tired out, and scores of soldiers dropped on the ground as soon as the command to halt was given, in order to get a little rest.

Fate continued weaving her Web. During this halt, Custer rode with scouts and others to the Crow's Nest, a hill on the divide overlooking the trail to the Little Big Horn practically its whole length, although that stream and its valley was so enclosed by bluffs that it could not be seen, but the sharp eyes of the Rees and Crows had noted the rising smoke, and had also perceived a mass of ponies on the slopes beyond. Custer looked long and intently through his field glasses, but expressed the opinion that there was no Indian camp there. When this was interpreted to Crows and Rees, they endeavored to show him what to them was perfectly plain, but he scoffed at their insistence.²⁵ Still, the great trail was in sight, and *somewhere* ahead were Indians. The regiment was brought up, and Custer with his adjutant, Cooke, assigned commands as follows: to Major Reno, three companies; to the senior captain, Benteen, three, while he retained the immediate command of five, which were also divided into two battalions, under Captains Yates and Keogh. One non-commissioned officer and six privates from

²⁵See pages 98 to 103 of work cited in note 9.

each company were assigned to duty with the pack train, which was looked after by a rear guard of the company of Captain McDougall. The numbers were about as follows: Benteen, 125 enlisted men: Reno, 112: Custer, 200: McDougall with his company and the men with the packs, 125. There were five or six civilian packers, five or six civilian guides, scouts, etc., six Crow scouts, 25 Arikara (Ree) and other Indian scouts, and two civilian acting-asst. surgeons. Benteen was ordered to scout far to the left, while the commands of Custer and Reno rode directly down the valley of Reno Creek, at that season merely a dry watercourse. The pack train was soon far in the rear, and Benteen several miles to the left. Reno's orders were to proceed down the creek to its mouth, cross the Little Big Horn and charge the Indian camp which at last Custer had been forced to admit was just where his scouts had indicated. He himself, with his five companies, turned sharply to the right, leaving the trail about one mile from the river, and rode up to the crest of a line of high bluffs skirting its easterly side. Reno obeying orders, rode about three miles down the Little Big Horn valley, and encountered hundreds of mounted Indians, dismounted his command to fight on foot, at about which time, Custer's battalion was seen in part on the bluffs nearly opposite, moving down stream. Reno was forced to take to the fringe of timber along a former channel of the stream, and after fighting there for some time, to save his command, mounted it, and designating to his officers a place on the opposite side of the river on the bluff as a destination, charged through the Indians, and gained his objective, although with serious loss. There he placed his companies in a position for defense, and awaited Benteen, who at that time was some three or four miles distant, and on his arrival they waited for the pack train, which came up an hour later. Reno now led the whole command to high ground about a mile and a quarter down stream, where some of the troops were in a position to overlook what afterwards proved to be Custer's Field, but saw nothing of his command. They were soon forced back by a heavy attack, to an

advantageous position on the bluffs selected by Major Reno, where they defended themselves with a loss of about twenty killed and over fifty wounded, (including those wounded in the valley) until relieved by Gibbon's column, his scouts having discovered over two hundred dead bodies, Custer's among them, over four miles from Reno's position.

What had happened? We can only answer in part. About the time his command was seen by Reno's men, marching along the bluff, Custer rode out to a spot on its edge where he had a wide view. This was about a half-mile below where Reno had ascended a ravine to reach the heights, and from this vantage ground, part of the great Indian camp could be seen. He was evidently looking for a crossing place to strike the Indians in flank or rear, but owing to the steepness of the bluffs, there is no crossing below for over two miles. Riding on down three-quarters of a mile, near two prominent high peaks close together, and halting his battalion in the low valley down which they were marching, he, with his orderly trumpeter, John Martin and others, ascended to one of these peaks (now called Weir's Peaks from where the whole immense camp could be seen, stretching along the valley on the other side of the river for two miles. Returning to the command, he sent Martin back with a message to Benteen; he had previously sent one by Sergeant Daniel Kanipe to the pack train guard; and now he rode on, expecting undoubtedly, to come out of the coulee near the river, but instead, found himself a mile away from it, and in Medecine Tail Coulee, which with another similar ravine farther north, forms a wide V, the point of the letter representing the place where the united coulees debouch into the Little Big Horn. From this place his course is involved in mystery. There are several theories as to his route to where his dead body was found at the northwesterly extremity of the Battle Ridge, terminating at the Monument.

Gibbon came on the morning of the 27th. Terry had told Custer that he would be in the valley of the Little Big Horn

on the 26th, and he was there in great anxiety, for he had received no word, and most alarming news had come from three Crow scouts who had been of the six sent with the Seventh Cavalry. Had Custer obeyed orders, Herendeen would have met Gibbon's scouts, and Gibbon would have marched his command up Tullock's Creek over a comparatively good route, saving thirteen or fourteen miles and been in a position to strike the lower end of the Indian camp on June 26.

In conclusion, many legends and still more fictions have grown up concerning this tragedy. It has been repeatedly asserted by Custer partisans that "when going into battle with Indians, he always divided his command," whereas Custer never had but one engagement with Indians that could be called a "battle," the Washita, where it is true that he divided his regiment. His skirmishes on the Yellowstone could not in any sense be called battles, and there was no such "dividing the command" as that at the Little Big Horn.

Another legend started by his first biographer, Whittaker, was the "abandonment by Reno and the disobedience of Benteen," that kept alive controversy up to the point of Reno's demand for a court of inquiry three years later, for it was this advertising that sold thousands of Whittaker's books. In later years, more books by others have been sold by exploiting this legend.

Another legend was "the perfection of the Seventh Cavalry," made so "by a matchless leader." A very little investigation of the seventh Cavalry from its organization to 1876, reveals that its personnel, both commissioned and enlisted, was a mixture of very poor material with considerable good. Half of some of the companies were raw recruits who had never mounted a horse until joining shortly before the campaign, and who could not hit a three-foot target with the carbine a hundred yards distant. A majority of the sergeants were veterans, as were a few of the corporals. Drunkenness among both commissioned and enlisted men, was much in evidence, while other vices were not conspicuous by their absence. Imagination, idolatry, hero-

worship, and what is called in these days, yellow journalism, account for much of the rather absurd exaggerations concerning the Seventh Cavalry.

Some years ago in company with several men who have written notable and authoritative works on Custer's last fight, the writer of this paper traversed the grounds from the mouth of the Little Big Horn to and over the battle-fields, and from Reno's first line in the valley to the mouth of Reno's Creek; up that stream to the Crow's Nest: across the divide and down Davis Creek to Custer's camp near Busby on the Rosebud, thence up that watercourse to the site of Crook's fight not long before Custer fell.²⁶ He has studied the authorities, checked the maps and distances, gaining a knowledge of the topography that cleared up many points and explained some apparent discrepancies, so at the end of this sketch, he may sum up the findings in a few words.

From Custer's entrance to West Point, his life was filled with a consistent hunger for public adulation, fed and fortified by admirers who saw only one side of the shield, and were either temperamentally or mentally unable to see the other side, along with persons whose interests were financial or political, and who profited by a partisan stand to sell their goods, whether books or newspapers, or to gain places in political life that were remunerative.

Many popular heroes are vastly overrated, and this is a distinctive American failing. Very often that which passes for history, does not do justice or tell all the truth, for a well-written or well-told myth easily becomes accepted as fact if repeated often enough. Quoting a few words from *Michigan History*: "Even historians are sometimes responsible for perpetuating myths. There is some truth in the statement that although history does not repeat itself, historians do repeat one another. Usually this practice is safe enough. Nevertheless, newly discovered material, from time to time, makes necessary a revision of even standard works."²⁷

²⁶Ibid., p. VII.

²⁷Bald, F. C., in *Michigan History Magazine*, October-December, 1944, p. 596.

This applies definitely to much Little Big Horn battle history, to say nothing of Little Big Horn myths, and no character before the American public has furnished a more striking example than the subject of this paper.

SILVER AND GOLD IN MICHIGAN

BY LEW ALLEN CHASE

LANSING

WHEN John R. St. John, as he tells us, visited Presque Isle near Marquette in 1845 he found mining operations in progress there on a silver-lead vein. The operating company was the New York and Lake Superior which also had workings at Agate Harbor and Eagle River. Seventeen English and Irish were at work at Presque Isle. Five log-buildings were erected. Three tons of ore were taken from the first shaft during the first five days of mining there, according to St. John. The old workings on Presque Isle, soon abandoned after these initial efforts, may still be seen and are marked by the Marquette County Historical Society.

When visiting the copper mines in 1846, Charles P. Whittlesey noted abundant signs of silver. At Sprague's Location on the west side of Eagle Harbor, Whittlesey reports finding a "handsome specimen of silver, which appeared to be abundant."

At the same time Charles Lanman reported a find of native silver in the Eagle River Valley which weighed six pounds and ten ounces. Foster and Whitney note the finding of a mass of native silver at the Phoenix Location in the bed of Eagle River weighing eight pounds. This was the largest yet discovered in this region.

A knob of diorite found some twelve miles west of the head of Keweenaw Bay was the scene of mining. Silver was looked for but the expectations of the adventurers were evidently not realized for the location was found abandoned in the autumn of 1847. This was the site of the Silver Mountain Company.

At the Phoenix Mine—one of the oldest mines—according to Foster and Whitney "The most extravagant expectations were formed and the most exaggerated statements made as to the mineral wealth of the country." This was because in the early days of copper mining this lode was represented as possessing

unparalleled richness—the silver far exceeding the copper in value; and these representations, say Foster and Whitney, contributed powerfully towards the creation and maintenance of the copper mania which prevailed for a time throughout the eastern cities.

These authorities averred, however, that it was only the copper that made mining profitable in the Copper Country mines. At the same time the *Mining Magazine* reported a very favorable assay of silver ore mined by the Lake Superior Silver Mining Company on Michipicoten Island. During 1853 one barrel, one box, and one keg of silver ore were shipped from this mine. The average silver return in 1854 was put at about \$6 per ton—too small to make its extraction an object of consideration. In some mines this average was much exceeded, however.

In 1854, *The Mining Magazine*, edited by William J. Tenney, notes that silver has been found in every mine in the Lake Superior region, but in no instance has its occurrence been known as being regulated by any law of nature which can be studied with reference to its profitable working. Considerable “bunches” of silver were found at the Old Cliff in Keweenaw County. In the deeper workings it was not found as abundant as near the surface. In the Minnesota, reports this source, “it was found in excellent hand specimens near the surface and in isolated deposits.” It was scarcely noticed in the lower-workings of this mine. It was also found in many other mines of the Ontonagon district in small bunches or strings near the surface. The largest mass ever found in any of the mines of the Copper Country down to 1854 reports *The Mining Magazine* was at the Copper Falls Mine in a bed of trap. In the Hill Mine a bunch of silver was found in 1853. It was always found as native silver metal.

The Mining Magazine for July, 1854, reported that “the first steamer from the mines this spring brought down a very large number of miners and many of them appeared to have been fortunate in possessing themselves of specimens of silver, and

silver and copper, found in our Lake Superior mines. Some of them were by far the most massive and beautiful pieces of pure native silver we had ever seen, weighing from one ounce to several pounds of the pure metal." Almost every miner had his specimen worth from five dollars to fifty dollars. Most of this silver was understood to have come from the Minnesota where large quantities of silver had been lately found.

Hunt's Merchants' Magazine, 1854, reports an assay of Michigan silver running at the rate of 1,120 ounces per ton of ore, worth \$1,355.21. Other specimens also showed very well in their silver content. Previously (1848) a specimen of Lake Superior silver had been forwarded to the United States Mint which weighed six pounds ten ounces avoirdupois.

In 1863 the discovery of a silver-lead deposit in Marquette County attracted much interest. The assays ran eight pounds of silver to the ton of lead on the average. These deposits lay near Silver Lake in Township 49, Range 28 West. There were in 1863 four companies organized on the land entered in the vicinity of the lake. Work was abandoned when silver, which was mainly desired, failed to develop there as expected.

In 1873 the Ontonagon Silver Mining Company was organized by Marquette capitalists. Supplies were hauled to the mine by dog trains or packed in from Ontonagon on the backs of men. Test pits were put down before the snow had left the ground and the vein uncovered. A mining village was established and shafts were put down on the vein. A harbor was provided at the mouth of Iron River. In January, 1874, *The Ontonagon Miner* described seven silver mines in Township 51, Range 42 West, in addition to several explorations that were regarded as promising. In 1874 a stamp mill was erected for handling the silver rock locally.

According to *The Ontonagon Miner* of 1875, the Indians in the vicinity of Iron River, Ontonagon County, had nuggets of silver, some of great size. The superstitious Indians refused to reveal the source of this metal to the fur traders stationed at the mouth of the river. From 1846 to 1855 the search for

silver in this district was pressed and in 1855 an outcrop of a vein carrying native silver on Little Iron River about one mile west of Big Iron River was found. Later the possessor of the site interested eastern capital in his silver mine and the Scranton Mining Company was organized. Soon there was another silver boom on, adjacent to Big Iron River. The usual crop of wildcat enterprises developed. The favorable assays bore out apparently the great expectations then held of riches in silver. The Superior Mine was then opened in the same locality, whence ores of considerable richness were determined to be present. These silver mines were near the mouth of Iron River in the Porcupine Mountain copper district.

Swineford (1876) states that at one time the silver-lead regions of the Huron Mountains promised well but the value of that section was at the time of his writing not demonstrated, and in fact it never became important. Swineford reports the largest nugget of silver ever found in the Copper Country to have weighed eighty pounds. On one occasion the Cliff miners blasted into a small cavern whose walls glittered with sparkling calcspar and pure white silver. "It was like a fairy dream—like a palace of Aladdin." An early difficulty in recovering silver from these early mines lay in the assumption among the miners that silver found was treasure trove to them and belonged not to the operating company. When Swineford wrote (1876) silver pickers were employed at the Copper Country stamp mills to remove the silver from the copper.

The Engineering and Mining Journal for July 16, 1887, reported it to be a fact not widely known that \$3,500,000 worth of silver had been produced from Upper Peninsula mines. The Silver Islet Mine in Lake Superior near its northern shore was the only mine which had produced silver alone at any great profit, but many of the copper mines had added thousands of dollars worth of silver to their copper product. Tests on the Iron River silver properties were again reported that year (1887).

GOLD

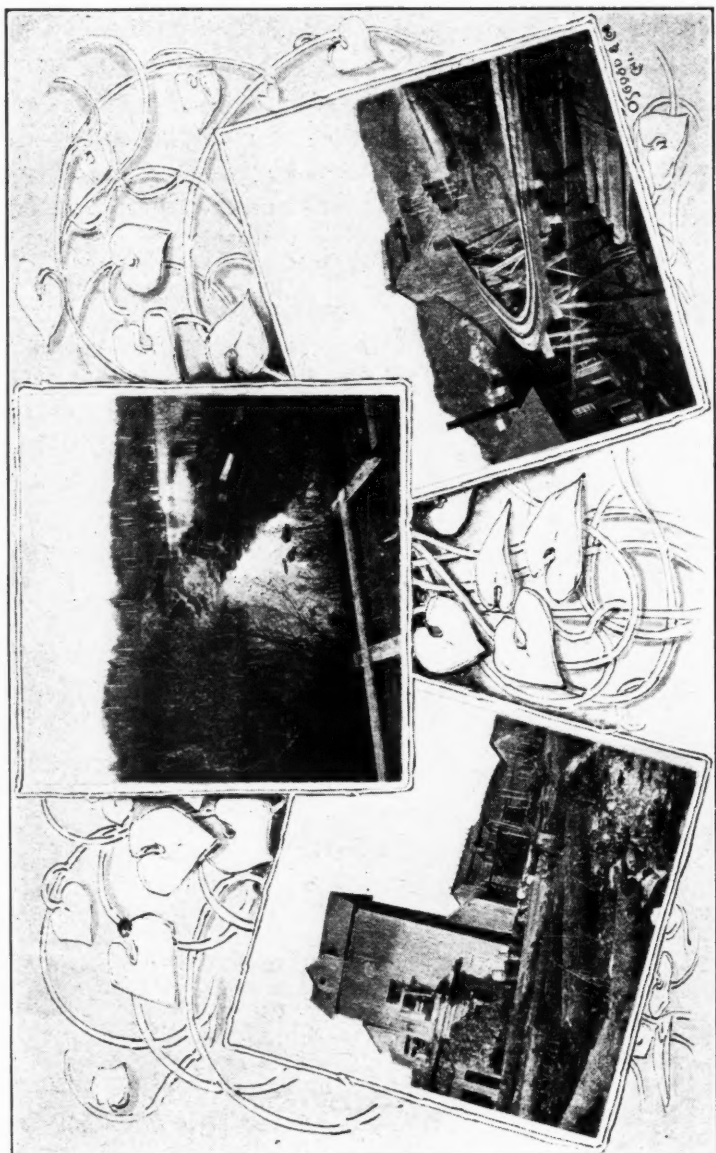
Hunt's Merchant's Magazine for January, 1848, reported a discovery of gold near Tecumseh, Michigan. It was stated a "few lumps have been found weighing from half an ounce to an ounce and a half, which have been pronounced pure." It was reported further that a company had been found to work the deposit and that "Quite a gold mania has sprung up in that section of country."

Swineford reported in 1876 that two years previously he found traces of gold in rock sent for treatment from the Iron River section. Eighteen months later he ascertained that these specimens had been "salted by a Californian who carried about with him a small vial filled with gold dust for the deceiving of the natives. In the region south of Huron Bay a discovery of iron pyrites was taken to be gold until the error was revealed by an assay.

The Ropes Gold Mine¹ about six miles from Ishpeming was the result of the investigations on the spot of Mr. Julius Ropes, carried on for years before the mine was begun, in 1883. It was located in Township 48, Range 27 West. When visited by Richard A. Parker, in 1888, for the *Engineering and Mining Journal*, the mine was located upon the north face and midway to the summit of a ridge extending for half a mile from a northeast to a southwest direction. By September 13, 1888, the mine had two mills of forty-five stamps. The shaft was down 65 feet.

By August, 1886, *The Engineering and Mining Journal* reported that the Ropes Gold and Silver Mine had at last apparently entered on a career of prosperity. The mine was working the fifth level, where rich ore was encountered. The mill was working well. An air compressor plant, three Rand drills, and new hoisting apparatus were installed in June and July. There was then enough rock in sight to run a fifty stamp mill two years, it was claimed. Stock had advanced to \$2.35.

¹See article by Newett, "A Michigan Gold Mine" in this Magazine for January, 1927.



SCENES NEAR THE ROPES GOLD MINE

The Engineering and Mining Journal, July 16, 1887, reported an exciting gold discovery in Marquette County, Michigan. Specimens were placed on view at Ishpeming and were seen by hundreds of persons and pronounced "The richest gold specimens ever taken from any mine." The gold was found on a tract about six miles from Ishpeming on Township 48, Range 28. The original discovery of gold there was June 14, 1885. Some delay was incurred in obtaining title to the land for mining operations. In June, 1887, a few men were set to work and at a depth of twenty feet they discovered the gold. Assays were said to run over \$10,000 to the ton of rock in native gold. It was thought then that the gold-bearing belt ran from Marquette to L'Anse, north of the iron belt. Tradition had it that Dr. Douglass Houghton had filled a goose-quill with gold from the Huron Mountains district only a few days before his death in Lake Superior.

Already in 1887 the *Engineering and Mining Journal* reported some exploring had been done in the Huron Mountains, where Indian tradition held that gold existed. The vein was uncovered that same fall (1887) and when the mine was visited a year later it had two shafts, one seventy and the other ten feet deep. The mine was by now known as the Michigan Gold and Silver Mine. The company became involved in litigation which held up operations. For years, however, interest was had in the possibilities of developing this property, though nothing tangible had so far developed.

In the same district as these two best known of the Upper Peninsula gold mines were situated, other explorations and developments took place at the same time. *The Engineering and Mining Journal* for September 2, 1888, reports five of these gold developments, in some cases shafts having been sunk on the vein. When the Michigan Gold Mining Company won their suit, mining operations were continued. From the first run of 28 tons of rock, \$8,400 worth of bullion were obtained, reported the Commissioner of Mineral Statistics in 1890. At

this time the mine was self-sustaining from the gold recovered. Several other gold mines were operating in the vicinity.

In 1901 a lumberjack was reported to have found a gold-bearing quartz near Skanee. His accidental death prevented the development of the lode. From time to time woodsmen have brought pieces of gold to the Michigan College of Mining and Technology for testing. In 1932 the College introduced a course in gold prospecting and a group of students were sent into the Huron Mountain area, east of Keweenaw Bay, in quest of the metal. Pans and cradles were brought along for working the streams of the district. This is still wild country, in this respect not unlike the California of the forty-niners. Old test pits were uncovered. Gold was actually reported found on the Huron River, an affluent of Huron Bay, Lake Superior. Some lead and graphite were also discovered. It was planned to continue the field work in the summer of 1933.

The Ishpeming Gold Mining Company was formed in 1932 for the purpose of resuming work at the Ropes property of which they secured a lease from the owning company. This work was continued in the summer of 1933. The total product of the Ropes Mine is estimated at about \$650,000.

From 1934 on the Calumet and Hecla Consolidated Copper Company sought to employ its capital and mining experience in this field, new to it. The Ropes gold mine was de-watered and the area explored geologically. For this a controlling interest was acquired by the Ishpeming Gold Mining Company. Considerable gold was disclosed permeating the rock structure and it is possible that mining would have been actively undertaken had not the policy of the United States government relative to gold mining during the second World War, compelled cessation of such activities.

Silver has continued to be produced in Michigan in small quantities down to the present time but only as a by-product of copper. The United States Bureau of Mines' mineral Statistics show that, in 1939, Michigan produced 101,878 fine ounces of silver, descending year by year to 48,479 ounces in 1943.

HISTORY AS A LIVING FORCE

BY CHRISTOPHER CRITTENDEN, DIRECTOR

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WHAT would George Washington think if he were suddenly to come to life today and find that he was riding in a jeep? How would Benjamin Franklin feel if he were to find himself in a flying fortress, 20,000 feet above the earth's surface? What would John Paul Jones think of one of our modern landing barges, carrying tanks and other mechanized equipment all ready to drive ashore and engage the enemy? What would be the reaction of Andrew Jackson to a tank, of Robert E. Lee to a flame thrower, or even of Teddy Roosevelt to a modern submarine?

In civil life as well as in military we have machines which would astonish past generations. How would Julius Caesar feel if he should suddenly come to life in a New York subway train? What would Anne Hathaway think of a modern kitchen, with its innumerable conveniences? What would Thomas Jefferson do if he could hear a voice speaking from Moscow, London, or Australia? How would Abraham Lincoln like to ride in an automobile, shave with an electric razor, or see a moving picture? We possess machines to do everything from sinking battleships to washing dishes, from propelling a speeding express train to clipping the hair on our necks.

When the first machines were invented, they came only at infrequent intervals. The spinning jenny, the power loom, the steam engine, and the other early inventions were spaced years apart. But these early machines begat a new and more numerous generation of machines, and this generation in turn sired another still more numerous generation until today the earth fairly crawls with machines without number. Not merely do they constantly become more numerous, but the ratio of increase appears to rise by geometric progression. Malthus' theory of population growth has long been discredited, but

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had Malthus propounded his theory for the machine, rather than for the human being, he might have been correct.

Every time a new machine is put into use, it causes some modification in the way men live from day to day, in their social adjustments and relationships. When a new machine began to function only occasionally, society had a long period of time to adjust itself to each in turn. But as new inventions have crowded upon us with greater and greater frequency, we have had less and less time to make the necessary adjustments and we seem to live in a world of increasingly unstable physical surroundings. The furnishings in our homes, the clothes we wear, the vehicles in which we ride, the weapons with which we fight, all seem subject to constant change, so that what we have today is out of date tomorrow.

This state of constant change, this lack of stability of our physical surroundings, raises a horde of difficult and complex problems for the world today. Internally, each country is under the necessity of making rapid and drastic adjustments to the machine, of frequently reorganizing its social order to meet new conditions. Externally, in its relations with other states, each country has likewise to make constant adjustments in meeting the problems of the machine age.

In this period of flux there is grave danger that the machine will run away with us—will get completely out of control. As has often been said, our knowledge of technical subjects has outrun our understanding of social and economic matters so that our social order has become out of balance. A Congressman riding on a streamlined train may subscribe to many of the economic theories of the horse-and-buggy era; a big business executive may be almost completely ignorant of many of the social changes of the past century. Unless this gap between technical knowledge and social ignorance is closed, there is grave danger that our civilization will be unable to bear the strain. And in those countries where government action rests upon public opinion, as in our own, it is essential that knowledge of these problems be in the possession not

merely of the leaders but also of the masses of the people.

Within the past few decades there have developed various studies whose purpose is to bring enlightenment regarding social and economic matters—the so-called social sciences. They were predicated originally upon the idea that just as chemistry and mathematics and the other physical sciences could be founded upon certain well known scientific facts and reactions, so the social sciences—economics, sociology, history, and the others—could likewise be based upon the laws that govern society, provided only that those laws could be discovered and applied.

Thus research in these fields was conducted in order to discover such laws. While the laws proved more elusive than expected and human relationships appeared to involve limitless complexities, nevertheless a great mass of valuable data was brought to light, ready for the use of society—if society would indeed make use of it.

Among the various groups of social scientists, the historians played a leading part. Trained in German methods of careful, painstaking research, they delved into almost every conceivable subject, political, legal, religious, cultural, military, social, and economic, from the earliest periods for which information was available down to the present. They brought to light a mass of new data, carefully checked and re-checked, so that far more exact knowledge about the past was at hand than had ever been available before.

Many of the questions society must answer today are new in some ways. But for every one of them there are precedents or semi-precedents and there is not a single one about which information as to how similar questions were answered in the past would not be useful at the present time. Today, for example, our nation faces the imminent threat of inflation. It would seem obvious that one of the worst possible developments would be an uncontrolled rise in prices, and yet there are various pressure groups and considerable sections of public opinion which, often without knowing it, are helping to

bring about that very result. Wanting immediate profits for themselves, they fail to see that one price increase will probably lead to others and that the resulting inflation will seriously harm everybody. If the public were well informed as to what has happened in this field in past wars and knew that in every one of our major conflicts prices have climbed to dizzy heights, it would be much easier for the Office of Price Administration to do its job, and there would be less bickering about the matter in Congress.

Again, if we all had clearly in mind the history of the tariff in this country and abroad, if we understood what results had followed the raising or lowering of rates on various commodities, it would be much easier for our government to formulate intelligent tariff policies. If the public had an enlightened understanding of American foreign policy since 1775, our national mind would hardly be in such a muddle regarding post-war relationships.

If it is essential that the masses of the people be educated regarding the background of current problems and issues, is it not the responsibility of the historian to see that the public is so educated? The historian is the specialist in the field; he is the only one who has in this field both the information and the broad perspective which are needed. If he does not instruct the populace in his own subject, who else is competent to do so?

Can it be said, however, that at the present time the historian is failing to perform this duty? Having at hand information which is badly needed in the solution of present-day problems, is he neglecting to do his part in making this information available to the general public? Is his light hidden under a bushel, so that only a feeble glimmer leaks out through a crack?

At present professional historians use principally two methods in making their subject known to the public, teaching and writing. History is taught in the grammar schools, the high school, and the colleges and universities. And as for writing,

every year professional historians turn out thousands of scholarly volumes, pamphlets, and magazine articles.

These two methods are not bad as far as they go. But I wonder whether they go far enough. Are the professional historians failing to reach the masses of the people? Are mere teaching and writing scholarly treatises enough? Are there other avenues of approach which ought to be considered?

I wonder if there is not a great deal which the trained historian can do, in addition to what he is now doing, to sell history to the public and to make history the living force that it ought to be in the lives of the populace. I believe that use should be made of some of the channels which have been developed only recently, and also that more effective use can be made of the older channels.

No device for reaching large masses of people is more effective than the radio. From one station we can command an immediate area, from a limited network of stations we can present our case to an entire region, from a national network we can make contact with the whole nation, and by short wave we can reach the world at large. Frequent broadcasts of sound historical material, closely related to present-day problems, can have a tremendous influence upon popular sentiment and can go far to educate the public about such matters.

What can be accomplished in this field is effectively described in *Broadcasting History: The Story of the Story Behind the Headlines*, a recent *Bulletin* of the American Association for State and Local History. This article, by Mrs. Conyers Read, gives the history of the weekly broadcast of the radio committee of the American Historical Association. Believing that historical knowledge in relation to current issues should be made generally available, the committee arranged first with the Columbia Broadcasting System and later with the National Broadcasting Company to put on a weekly program. It was felt best for historians not to broadcast directly, but instead to have a broadcaster who would obtain the needed information from specialists in various fields and who would

himself actually prepare and give the broadcasts. After certain preliminary work and one abortive series of broadcasts, the series began on March 8, 1938, and has been continued ever since.

What the subject each week will be, no one knows until a few days ahead, since it is necessary to wait as late as possible in order to fit in with the spot news. Once the subject is determined, there has to be fast work in getting in touch with historical specialists in the field, assembling the needed information, writing the script, and making final preparations. The result is *The Story Behind the Headlines*, heard every Sunday night with Cesar Saerchinger as broadcaster, a commentary on some phase of current events with the historical background brought in. The series has aroused nation-wide interest and has helped to bring about a better understanding of current events and issues.

The radio committee of the American Historical Association has shown the way. What is now needed is for the rest of us to follow that example so that broadcasts of this kind are multiplied many times. There is room for several additional programs over national hook-ups, and there is also a great deal of room in the local field. Suppose, to be specific, that when the next city election is held in your community, a series of radio programs were to give the history of your city elections and to tell in detail just what had been accomplished and what had failed of accomplishment by the candidates and parties seeking election.

When a change is proposed in the tax rate, suppose that a radio program were to give the history of public taxes in the city. Should a referendum be held on whether to ban John Barleycorn from our midst, the local history of this subject might be broadcast. In case a crime wave should break out, data on the history of crime and of law enforcement might be made available. By such programs a local historical group could play an active and useful part in solving the current problems of the community.

In addition to broadcasts closely connected with current problems, there might be others with less connection of the kind, arranged for the purpose of informing the public regarding their general historical background. Such a series might be given on both a national and a local scale. A series narrating the general history of a community would be particularly instructive and interesting, and if presented at a time when classes of school children could tune in, the broadcasts could form a part of the educational program of the community.

The newspapers offer a fertile field. Well authenticated historical columns, feature articles, and other contributions, written by trained historians or based upon information supplied by such historians, could have a marked influence upon popular thought and sentiment. Should a depression again descend upon the land, articles on how the problems of past depressions were met would be useful. In time of war, information on how we lived through past wars could give a broader understanding of the problems involved and simplify their solution.

Today, of course, because of the newsprint shortage, the newspapers are eliminating current features rather than adding new ones, but even at that there is room for such contributions provided they are of high quality and sufficiently pertinent. I know of one such column, launched only three months ago, which has had a reasonable measure of success. For Sunday release, the material is mailed to ten papers the preceding Monday or Tuesday in order to allow plenty of time for setting up the type before the Saturday rush. So far the column has dealt with the background of the Italian campaign, of Russian foreign policy, of the Balkan tangle, of Labor Day, of American foreign policy, and of other topics of current interest. If this can be accomplished at the present time, in spite of the obstacles in the way, it would seem that later, when the war is over and newsprint no longer scarce, the possibilities would be much greater.

The magazines offer a similar opportunity. For every person who reads a doctoral dissertation, thousands read *The Saturday Evening Post*, *Collier's*, and other periodicals. Why, therefore, can we not prepare or have prepared articles suitable for magazines of this kind? They might be written by historians themselves—provided we can find scholars capable of preparing them—or, like the radio program of the American Historical Association, they might be based upon information supplied by historical specialists but actually prepared by persons skilled in the techniques of popularization. Prepared longer in advanced than newspaper contributions, magazine articles would be more in the nature of features giving the general background of some situation, rather than commentaries on spot news.

There is also the possibility of a popular historical magazine, and it is good news that the Society of American Historians, organized several years ago, has announced that it expects to begin publishing such a magazine in January, 1945. "The conviction" of the society, says a recent statement, "was that now 140,000,000 English-speaking people of North America were ready to have a fuller interest in History. . . . The objective was to encourage the reading and writing of History, and, as a step toward this end, to set up a monthly magazine of History, scholarly in essentials, and of high literary quality, brightly written, and attractively illustrated. . . . These men [of the society] hoped to rescue historical writing from arid pedantry on the one hand, and from inaccurate popularization on the other; to bring the color, drama, and solid instruction of History home to millions to whom it had been unknown or who have ignored it; and to till new historical fields." The motto of the society is *Sic Historia Dissipabit*, which, freely translated, means: "Thus will History drive away ignorance and misunderstanding." This movement, I feel sure, will have the good wishes and support of all of us, for it can perform a great service for the American people.

Historical plays and pageants can be a potent influence. A well written and expertly presented historical play can arouse a great deal of public enthusiasm. On a national scale such plays, presented in a large city, can exert far-reaching influence, but in the local field the possibilities are perhaps even more alluring. Every community has a history worthy of dramatization, and there could hardly be a better way of making that history known. Similar to the play is the pageant, which is especially suitable for celebrating an anniversary. In all parts of the country in time of peace hundreds of historical pageants are presented. Some are of high calibre but most of them are of little value, mere stereotypes, having only a slight connection with local history and conditions. The highest type of pageant, properly planned and executed and representing a determined effort to feature local events and characters, offers fine possibilities.

Historical museums can do far more than they have yet done to make history known to the people. Already throughout the nation are hundreds of such institutions, some excellent, some indifferent, some poor. Too many of them, unfortunately, are merely static, with masses of ill-assorted items displayed behind glass—like the remains of the late lamented in a windowed coffin. The best ones, however, by frequently changing displays, by arranging special exhibits in connection with current events, by introducing more effective lighting methods, by putting on historical playlets or celebrations at appropriate times, by preparing articles for the local papers, and by other similar methods are pointing the way to what can be accomplished. There are still far too few historical museums in the country, and of those which exist only a limited number are doing really effective work.

Closely related to the museum field is the restoration, preservation, and marking of historic spots. During the past few decades a wave of interest in work of this kind has swept the country and much has been accomplished, with the National Park Service and certain state and regional organizations

leading the way. As a matter of fact, however, the surface has barely been scratched, for there are still thousands of historic houses, water wheels, bridges, battlegrounds, and other historic sites which are crying out for proper attention. Such a site is something which can have great influence on the public. It is not merely vague and intangible, like the decline of the Roman Empire, but it is something which people can actually see and touch. The restoration of colonial Williamsburg is an object lesson of what can be accomplished in this field. Obviously, since we are not all Rockefellers, all of us cannot develop Williamsburgs, but every one of us can achieve more limited ends in this field.

Historic sites likewise need to be marked. A program along this line should be carefully planned so that it will be in the hands of trained historians and not under the control of chambers of commerce, ancestor worshippers, or other groups with special interests. Certain states, such as Virginia, have shown what can be accomplished, but much more remains to be done.

Likewise, the open forum can accomplish much. Discussion of current problems, with emphasis on the historical background, can arouse popular interest and inform the public regarding the various questions at issue. People like to talk and argue. If they are given a chance to do so, with intelligent guidance and with necessary information supplied, they can be educated, and can educate themselves, on a variety of topics.

Of great importance are the moving pictures. With the millions of paid admissions weekly throughout the nation, this industry has a tremendous influence upon our national life and thought. As we all know, within the past few years there have been hundreds of pictures with historical settings, ranging from those which were reasonably accurate to those which were a mere travesty on history. There would seem to be possibilities for the trained historian to work in this field in order to try to make pictures more accurate on the one hand, and on the other to have historical pictures produced which

would not be produced otherwise. Obviously the moving picture industry is highly centralized and the techniques of production have been specialized and Hollywoodized to such an extent that the historian cannot simply walk in and tell the producers how it ought to be done. But by a diplomatic approach and by a concerted campaign by the proper organizations, probably something worth while could be accomplished.

It is suggested then, that professional historians make more use of the radio, newspapers, magazines, plays and pageants, museums, historic sites, the open forum, and moving pictures. In addition, it is believed that the teaching and writing of history can be made more effective. In so far as teaching is concerned, the following weaknesses may well be considered: First, the majority of students take courses only at the lower levels, and therefore do not obtain the more detailed and advanced information which is needed to solve complex problems. If practicable, a much larger proportion of students should be required to take courses in history at the higher levels.

Second, not enough connection is ordinarily shown between history and the problems of the present. It may be all very well for the medievalist in his researches to try to put himself back in the days of feudalism and completely forget all about the present, but in teaching his subject he should consider what lessons the Middle Ages hold for the man of today. I venture to say that there are plenty.

Third, not enough attention is paid to local history. It is beneficial to teach the history of the world at large, of Europe, or of the United States. Such courses broaden the outlook of the student, help him to see things in perspective. But there is need for far more attention to local history, and no community ought to be without such a course in its schools. Every child should be taught the background of the locality in which he lives—the history of the Presbyterian Church at Second and Oak streets, the story of the old mill just outside the town limits, the history of the local banks, and many other subjects. Each child should be told about the ideals of his local ances-

tors, lineal or spiritual, their religious beliefs, their interests, their culture. Such teaching, if not merely of an antiquarian nature but ably conceived and carried out, will bring about a better appreciation of what the community stands for and will make for a more intelligent facing of current local problems.

Fourth, in the more advanced courses and especially in the graduate schools the purpose of teaching history frequently seems to be not so much to give information which will be useful in making adjustments to life today as merely to teach others how to teach. The objectives of such courses might well be re-considered.

With regard to writing, there is much that the scholarly historian can do and ought to do. First, in the training of a historian, much more emphasis should be placed upon fine, artistic writing. Departments of history might well make arrangements for their graduate students to take courses in English or journalism, with the deliberate purpose of developing an attractive style. And term papers, theses, and other writings of graduate students might be graded upon the basis of good writing much more strictly than at present. Second, students should not be required to include so much scholarly impedimenta in their writings. Much of the graduate school technique needs to be discarded, both in the graduate school and afterward. Of course we do not want research to be any less careful or less thorough, but there is no use being so obvious about it. A modern Ph.D., thesis, with innumerable footnotes and all the other evidences of so-called scholarship, is often like a skyscraper so constructed that the steel framework projects that everyone may see how strong the building is. Of course we want the skyscraper strong and we want the dissertation thorough, but we don't want to see the framework of either too clearly. Third, the graduate student should be taught that as a scholar who has at his disposal information of pertinent value in solving the problems of today, he has a real responsibility in helping meet those problems. He

should be encouraged not to become a mere bookworm, not to shut himself off from the masses of the people, but instead to mix with and to know all people, to make himself a leader in the life of his community.

In the program which I have attempted to outline, I have been speaking primarily to the professional historian. I do not wish for a minute to underrate the work and accomplishments of the amateurs in the field, for many of them are talented and influential. Much of the best historical writing today is being done by persons without professional historical training—what an indictment of that training! No, I realize that the amateurs are accomplishing a great deal, but I am thinking now of the professional.

Am I asking too much? Are the professional historians already so busy that they have not time for additional duties or activities? Am I, by proposing that we assume a greater responsibility in meeting current problems, merely suggesting the impossible?

I do not think so. Of course we are all busy and there is a limit to what anyone can do. But much of what I suggest will require no additional time or effort. It won't be any harder to teach history along the lines proposed than in the present way, once the change has been made. And as for writing, how much easier it would be to leave out most of the footnotes. The radio, newspapers, magazine articles, plays and pageants, museums, the care of historic sites, the open forum, and moving pictures—these can receive as much or as little time and attention as we may be able to give them. I am merely suggesting that we professional historians take a new interest in such things and show our willingness to cooperate with people who are actively concerned with them.

I am not urging so much that we historians work harder or take on new duties (although that would not hurt some of us) as that we look on our place in society in a new light, that we accept greater responsibility in meeting the baffling

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I am not urging so much that we historians work harder or take on new duties (although that would not hurt some of us) as that we look on our place in society in a new light, that we accept greater responsibility in meeting the baffling

problems of the world today. We are fortunate in living in a free country, where investigation and teaching and writing are uncensored and subject to very little restriction. Our professional group has enjoyed a great and, historically, a rare privilege. But I wonder if we have not been too ready to accept the privilege without shouldering the responsibility. History can and ought to play a vital part in meeting the issues of our rapidly changing, complex world. It is the responsibility of professional historians to see that it plays such a part.

AN EARLY MICHIGAN POET: ELIZABETH
MARGARET CHANDLER

BY CARL E. BURKLUND

University of Michigan

THE literary history of Michigan has been less distinguished for its verse than for its prose. Indeed until the twentieth century no poet—with the exception of Will Carleton and possibly Ben King—has become a figure of some national importance. Nor is this much to be marvelled at: poetry of the artistic rather than the popular variety requires a mature social culture, a conditioned and sensitive reading public, taste, leisure, and the stimulus of many like minds—requirements hardly to be looked for in any lusty and growing frontier community.

It is not that the Michigan pioneers were insensitive to the natural beauty of their surroundings (a perennial subject for poets); their early chronicles give abundant evidence of their appreciation of the beauty of lake and forest, of oak openings, of the myriad wildflowers that grew everywhere. Neither were they dull to the gigantic drama unfolding in the West, to which they themselves were such prime contributors. Out of their early records breathes an intense excitement as they contemplate the possibilities before them: the reduction of the wilderness to the purpose of man; the creation of canals and railroads; the exploitation of rich resources; the building up of civilization on the frontier. It is not that they were insensitive; but to them—and naturally—the poetry of action was much more immediate and compelling than the poetry of words. Faced on every hand with immense potentialities awaiting translation into deed, they created farms rather than poems, organized communities rather than word structures, their energies of necessity syphoned off in the huge and practical challenge of an untapped wilderness. First things come first.

We cannot rightly, hence, expect any great display of literary poetry in early Michigan; such a distillation comes only when an area has acquired maturity. Nor can we, obviously, expect any number of our early poets to be born in the state itself, until several generations have passed and the conditions favorable for their emergence have been realized. We must look for them to be largely imports from more established communities—sons and daughters making the long trek westward with their pioneer parents, or mature men and women, seeking like many another, a new home on the frontier.

The Michigan poets before, say, the Civil War are not many and, it must be admitted, of no great significance in the development of our national literature. But they are important in the history of the cultural expression of our own state. Of those who achieved more than local reputation may be mentioned the following: Henry Whiting, Louis Legrand Noble, Lewis J. Bates, Sarah Louisa Smith, Clara Doty Bates, Lois Adams, and Elizabeth Margaret Chandler. With the exception of two (Sarah Smith, born in Detroit; and Clara Doty Bates, born in Ann Arbor), they are Michigan poets, to repeat, only in the sense that they are associated by residence with the state. Most of them were published in the better known Eastern magazines, such as the *Knickerbocker*, *Graham's*, or *Putnam's*, or appeared in the leading anthologies of the time, or secured reputable publication of individual volumes. Not the least of these poets in historic and possibly intrinsic worth is Elizabeth Chandler, whose *Poetical Works* (with a memoir by Benjamin Lundy) were issued by T. E. Chapman (Philadelphia) and Baker, Crane and Day (New York) in 1845. For the purposes of our short study of the poet, a summary of the biographical data offered by Lundy will be sufficient.

Elizabeth Margaret Chandler was born near the town of Wilmington, Delaware, on December 24, 1807, of Quaker English parentage. After her mother's death, which occurred when



ELIZABETH MARGARET CHANDLER

Elizabeth was still very young, the family removed to Philadelphia, where the father practiced medicine until his own death in 1816. Upon their translation to the city, Elizabeth had been placed under the care of her grandmother, with whom she lived for a number of years and by whom she was brought up in a strict and religious atmosphere. Her formal education ceased at about twelve or thirteen, but she carried on with her reading and writing, having displayed an early as well as pronounced interest in literature. She began to write regularly for the press at about sixteen, and some of her articles, we are told, had considerable circulation.

After her grandmother's death in 1827, Elizabeth lived with her aunt, Ruth Evans, and her brother, Thomas, in Philadelphia. She became a member of a "female" anti-slavery society of that city, but for a time took no active part in its functions. More and more, however, the evils of that institution, slavery, pressed upon her Quaker conscience, spurred her to protest in verse and prose, and determined the character of her literary effort. The reprinting of a prize poem, "The Slave Ship," in the columns of the anti-slavery journal, *The Genius of Universal Emancipation*, led to her friendship with its editor, Benjamin Lundy, and to her formal entry upon a writing career devoted to a crusade against slavery. At first contributor to the above mentioned journal and later one of its editors, she printed in its pages many articles and poems in her chosen field. Her achievement in the cause of emancipation is suggested by her biographer, who tells us:

She was the first American female author that ever made this subject the principal theme of her active exertions: and it may safely be affirmed, without the least disparagement to others, that no one of her sex, in America, has hitherto contributed as much to the enlightenment of the public mind, relative to this momentous question, as she has done.

Her brother, meanwhile, caught in the emigrant fever that swept the East, had purchased land in Lenawee County, near

the village of Tecumseh. In 1830 he moved to Michigan, accompanied by his aunt and his sister. Some of our poet's first impressions of Michigan—as given in Lundy's memoir—are worth presenting.

As we approached Detroit, our Governor's mansion on the bank of the river, was pointed out to us. It is merely a log building whitewashed; but the grounds about it have quite the appearance of a gentleman's residence. Detroit is rather a dirty-looking place; here we remained, however, only one night, and set off early the next morning for Tecumseh. After proceeding a short distance, the stage suddenly stopped, and the passengers began, very orderly, to make preparations for leaving it. For what cause this was done, I was at a loss to determine, as, besides that it was much too early for breakfast, there was no appearance of a *house* anywhere in the vicinity. However, we quietly imitated the example of our fellow travellers, and descended to terra firma, when it appeared that the measure was one of prudence, required by our approach to a long series of worn, loose, and uneven logs, denominated *a bridge!* and stretching across a stream dignified by the appellation of the *river* "Rouge!" A real *back-woods* bridge, this! thought I—and, as I walked over it, I perfectly acquiesced in the wisdom of dismounting, as well from a due regard to preserving the flesh uninjured, and the bones in their proper sockets, as from the danger of our weight proving too great for the frail structure, for such at least it seemed, however strong it might in reality be; at any rate, I have not heard since that it has given way, neither have any of the others, which we crossed in the same manner. This was no very favourable augury for the roads of Michigan; but they were, in general, much better than I had expected—sometimes rough, but not dangerous; and, as our carriage was sufficiently strong to bear the jolting over logs and such kind of *rail-ways*, we arrived at Tecumseh in the evening, battered, to be sure, in a most ungentle manner, but at least with undamaged bones, by whatever amount of sore flesh, reeling of heads, and excessive weariness, they might have been accompanied. . . . On the next First-day, we attended Meeting. The road wound through quiet and beautiful openings, dotted occasionally with log dwellings, and small spots of

improved land; but for the most part, still remaining in their own native loveliness, crowned with scattered trees, now gathered into picturesque clumps, leaving a clear space open to the sunlight, then spread out into an almost regular grove, and sometimes giving place entirely to a small stretch of bright green prairie, contrasting finely with the rich sunlight tint of the sod on the openings, which seemed coloured, as well as *covered*, by a profusion of *wild-flowers* and yellow "braken."

Little remains to note of her biography. The family built their residence—to which Elizabeth gave the name of "Hazel-bank"—on the margin of the river Raisin, and the brother settled down to farming. Despite the difficulties of distance and a frontier life, Elizabeth carried on her editorial duties and wrote her poetry, not a little of which now reveals the influence of her new environment, with its semi-wild but magnificent scenery and its still vividly alive memorials of a dying race. Only a short time, however, was left the poet, either to further her chosen cause or to exploit the new materials afforded her. In the spring of 1834 she was seized by a fever, to which she finally succumbed November 2, 1834, at the age of twenty-seven.

It is hard from Lundy's too effusive memorial to form a just estimate of the nature and character of Elizabeth Chandler. But the poetry itself is a testimonial and gives every evidence that she was a person high-minded and sincere, passionate in protest against racial injustice, whether to the black or the red man, and courageous to an extraordinary degree in the expression of convictions not at the time universally welcome. And it reveals, further, the warmth and gentle piety of her Quaker faith—a faith unassumed and simple that could make no truce with anything less than nobility of thought and deed. Her death was the loss not only of a talented poet but of an admirable woman.

II

Although we cannot but praise her as a person, when we consider Elizabeth Chandler as a poet we are forced to some reservations. A survey of her collected work exhibits a writer extremely uneven in quality, with poems ranging from what must be called doggerel to those of considerable strength and beauty. No poem is wholly good, for however certain the inherent talent, the artist is only too often submerged in the propagandist (and often in the sentimentalist). That she was not unaware of this tendency to sacrifice artistry to social protest is indicated in a passage from a letter given in Lundy's introduction. She tells us that "my interest in that cause [Emancipation] is the master feeling which I believe has done more than anything else in chasing away the other [the desire for literary distinction]."

Some of her shortcomings as a poet are to be attributed to the age in which she lived—weaknesses shared by most of the lesser artists and on occasion by the greater. Over-statement of mood, the easy tear, the ready swoon, the self-pitying contemplation of death and the graveyard, the too obvious moralizing in too obvious numbers—these were *a la mode* at the time in which she lived. American anthologies before the Civil War (and after, for that matter) are full of this sort of thing. Nor is it absent from the work of such eminent poets as Bryant, Longfellow, Holmes, Whittier, and Lowell. When even the greater heads frequently nodded, it is scarcely to be expected that the lesser should not.

In part, too, her defects as a poet stem from the zealousness already mentioned. In her eagerness to serve the cause of man, she wrote with a haste and burning enthusiasm that betrayed her into extravagance of sentiment and gushy diction. As often in poets of her type, the cause outdistanced the art.

But although her faults are apparent to any impartial reader, so too are her merits. She possessed genuine talent: a native

sensibility, an alert imagination, much descriptive power, an easy command over rhyme and rhythm, and a basic honesty. And when we remember that she possessed little formal education (which might have developed surer taste and more perspective), and that she died at an age when most poets are still serving their apprenticeship, we must agree that her achievement is not inconsiderable.

As might be anticipated, her poems show no great variety of theme. Dominantly she writes against the white man's enslavement of the negro, and often against his injustice to the Indian. Even in those poems ostensibly on other subjects ("John Woolman," "Pharaoh," "New Year's Eve," and the like), the favorite motif makes its appearance, and usually becomes the point or the objective of the poem itself. A number of poems—some of the best—are more largely descriptive, manifesting a sensitive response to natural beauty. And there are scattered poems of other types—occasional verse, rhymed epistles, even a Scotch dialect poem on the crocus, imitative of Burns.

Judged as poetry, her anti-slavery pieces, however effective they may have been as propaganda, are unquestionably the poorest as a group. They are honest in intention, fervid in utterance, but fearfully over-stated—at times, indeed, even maudlin. As good as any of this class—and better than most—is her prize-winning poem, "The Slave Ship," written, we are told, when she was eighteen.

The Slave-ship was winding her course o'er the ocean,
The winds and the waters had sunk into rest;
All hush'd was the whirl of the tempest's commotion,
That late had awaken'd the sailor's devotion,
When terror had kindled remorse in his breast.

And onward she rode, though by curses attended,
Though heavy with guilt was the freight that she bore,
Though with shrieks of despair was the midnight air rended,
And ceaseless the groans of the wretches ascended,
That from friends and from country forever she tore.

On the deck, with his head on his fetter'd hand rested,
He who once was a chief and a warrior stood ;
One moment he gain'd, by his foes unmolested,
To think o'er his woes, and the fate he detasted,
Till madness was firing his brain and his blood.

"Oh, never !" he murmur'd in anguish, "no, never !
These limbs shall be bent to the menial's toil !
They have reft us, my bride—but they shall not forever
Your chief from his home and his country dis sever—
No ! never will I be the conqueror's spoil.

"Say ! long didst thou wait for my coming, my mother ?
Did ye bend o'er the desert, my sister, your eye ?
And weep at the lengthen'd delay of your brother,
As each slow passing moment was chased by another,
And still he appear'd not a tear-drop to dry.

"But ye shall—yes, again ye shall fondly embrace me !
We will meet my young bride in the land of the blest :
Death, death once again in my country shall place me,
— One bound shall forever from fetters release me !"
He burst them, and sunk in the ocean's dark breast.

Much better in quality are those poems not directly given to social issues. Among these we may mention "The Brandy-wine," "Night," "The Forest Vine," and "The Indian Camp." Let us, in order to illustrate Elizabeth Chandler at her best, quote from several of them—first from "Night," a descriptive piece. We shall give the last four stanzas.

But now the majesty of midnight storm
Is gathering, in its grandeur, o'er the sky ;
The deep black clouds in mustering squadrons form,
And the low, fitful blast, that passes by,
Hath a strange fearful thrilling—like the sigh
Of a sick slumberer, even that hath died ;
And in their quiet sleep the waters lie,
As though the winds ne'er curl'd them in its pride,
Or shook the still bent leaves that hang above the tide.

How steadily that ebon mass moves on!
 Stretching across the sky in one dark line.
 Like a huge wall of blackness; there do none
 Of the thin silvery vapours hang supine,
 Or those bright clouds that sometimes seem to twine
 A coronal to grace the brow of night;
 Stars in Orion's studded baldric shine,
 In all their wonted brightness; and the light
 Of an unclouded moon half dims the dazzled sight.

The tempest hurries onward—how the flash
 Of the red lightning leaps from cloud to cloud!
 The gathering thunder bursts in one wild crash,
 And sinks a moment—then, returning loud,
 Seems bounding o'er the sky, as if 'twere proud
 Of its own potency. We need not now,
 A sharer in the thoughts that round us crowd;
 The soul is its own world, and the deep glow
 Of the rapt spirit seeks no fellowship below.

The wildness of the storm hath pass'd; the rain
 Drips from the wet leaves only, and the sky,
 With its deep azure beauty, gleams again
 Through the rent clouds; the sunken wind swells by,
 With a low sobbing; and the clouds, heap'd high,
 With the rich moonbeams' streaming flood of light
 Pour'd full upon them, swell before the eye
 Like distant snow-clad mountains. Night! O night!
 Thou art most glorious! most beautifully bright!

Although not quite free from sentimentalism, the poem has power and beauty, and shows a skillful handling of a difficult verse form. No less effective is the blank verse poem descriptive of the primeval wood, "The Forest Vine," from which we shall give an excerpt.

It grew in the old wilderness—The vine
 Is linked with thoughts of sunny Italy,
 Or the fair hills of France, or the sweet vales
 Where flows the Guadalquivir. But this grew
 Where, as the sunlight look'd through lacing boughs,
 The shadows of the stern, tall, primal wood
 Fell round us, and across the silent flood,

That wash'd the deep ravine. The pauseless lapse
Of ages had beheld no change in all
The aspect of that scene; or but such change,
As Time himself had made; the slow decay
Of the old patriarch oaks, and as they fell
And moulder'd on the earth, the silent growth
Of the young sturdy stem, that rear'd itself
To stretch its branches in their former place.
The wild flower stretch'd its tender petals out,
Lending strange brightness to the forest gloom;
The fleet deer toss'd his antlers to the breeze,
Graceful and shy; and when the sun went down,
The tangled thicket rustled to the tread
Of the gaunt wolf—just as in former years.
But the red hunter was no longer there;
And the bright flowers were no more twined to deck
The brow of Indian maid. . . .

Reminiscent of Bryant, who echoes through many of the early nineteenth century poets, the poem has none the less some distinction and succeeds in evoking the intended mood. We may complete our sampling process by giving, this time in its entirety, a poem growing, we may assume, out of her experience in the Michigan wilderness.

THE INDIAN CAMP

I stood amidst its solitude! where erst
The mighty of the desert dwelt, ere yet
The thunder-cloud of desolation burst
In darkness o'er them; ere their sun had set,
And pale-faced strangers from the ocean's strand,
Had look'd with evil eye across their fathers' land.

When, like the wild-deer of their own dark woods,
They trod with bounding steps its gloomy maze
Fearless and free; or stemm'd the rushing flood
In light canoe; and pausing but to raise
Their whoop of terror, rush'd to distant war,
With breast and brow still mark'd with many a former scar.

Methinks I see them now, as evening came,

Returning homeward from the lengthen'd chase,
The haughty fierceness of their brows grown tame,

And round their necks fond childhood's soft embrace;
While lips of age their simple welcome spoke,
And silent smiles of love in gentle eyes awoke.

But there was left no relic of them there,

Save that tradition told of one lone spot,
Where they had long been sepulchred; it bore

No stone, no monument, that they might not
Be all forgotten; but the forest bough,
In aged strength bent down above each mouldering brow.

The gushing stream beside whose limpid waves

They oft had flung them when the chase was o'er,
Or paused amid its hurrying course to lave

Their thirsty lips, and heated brows, of yore,
Still rushes nigh them with its shining waves,
But pours them only round their silent graves.

We may conclude this brief essay by observing that, although judged by rigid standards, Elizabeth Chandler is not a great poet, we may still be pardoned some feeling of pride that we can associate her with Michigan, and marvel not a little that in the days when our state was still largely a wilderness a poet of genuine talent should have been among us. We should cherish our pioneers, no less those who created structures of the spirit than those who conquered the forest and laid the foundations of our industrial strength. Elizabeth Margaret Chandler was one of them.

THE 34TH MICHIGAN VOLUNTEER INFANTRY

BY CAPT. JOHN STRONACH

LANSING

IMMEDIATELY after the Civil War and as towns and cities in Michigan became large enough and military-minded enough, military companies were organized and as conveniently as possible amalgamated into regiments and were called the Michigan State Troops. As this pertains only to the 34th Michigan, one of the five regiments in the Michigan Brigade when the call for troops came in 1898, the start will be from the organization of the 5th Regiment.

The 5th Regiment was organized November 28, 1891, and was made up of the following 8 companies:

- Co. A, Big Rapids, Michigan, formerly a company with the 2nd Michigan Infantry.
- Co. B, Manistee, Michigan, formerly a company with the 2nd Michigan Infantry.
- Co. C, Muskegon, Michigan, formerly a company with the 2nd Michigan Infantry.
- Co. D, Calumet, Michigan, formerly a company with the 3rd Michigan Infantry.
- Co. E, Iron Mountain, Michigan, organized new.
- Co. F, Houghton, Michigan, organized new.
- Co. G, Sault Ste. Marie, Michigan, organized new.
- Co. H, Ironwood, Michigan, organized new.

The first Colonel was Frank B. Lyon of Calumet. During its career on and up to the call in 1898 the Regiment was called for strike duty and became known as the "Fighting 5th", a name that stuck to the outfit. The dates of the companies (8 original) show organization from 1875 to 1896. The two 1896 companies replaced in that year companies located at Menominee and Marquette. Every one of the 5 Michigan Regiments were in Camp April 26, 1898, at the order of the War Department and after the Declaration of a state of war existed between Spain and United States. The companies which were

called were recruited to full strength of 86 men and 3 officers. Soon orders came through that all regiments must be raised to 12 companies and increased to regular army war time strength. This was soon accomplished. During the Civil War Michigan had put 30 regiments in the field and so following that precedent the new Michigan Regiments were designated 31st, 32nd, 33rd, 34th and later the 35th.

And now to the 34th Michigan. The final line up of the companies that comprised the 12 full strength Regiment were:

Co. A, Big Rapids

Co. B, Manistee

Co. C, Muskegon

Co. D, Calumet

Co. E, Iron Mountain

Co. F, Houghton

Co. G, Sault Ste. Marie

Co. H, Ironwood

Co. I, Ionia

Co. K, Mt. Clemens and Allegan

Co. L, Marquette with men from Menominee, Escanaba, Ishpeming, Champion and Republic

Co. M, Traverse City (that had been an independent Co.)

The Field and Staff Officers of the 34th Michigan were:

Colonel, John P. Petermann, Calumet, Michigan

Lt. Colonel, John R. Bennett, Muskegon, Michigan

Major, Edwin B. Winans, Hamburg, Michigan

Major, William C. Latimer, Detroit, Michigan

Major, Fred M. Hodskin, Manistee, Michigan

Surgeon, James M. King, Manistee, Michigan

Assistant Surgeon, John Bobb, Ironwood, Michigan

Assistant Surgeon, Julius M. Wilhelm, Traverse City, Michigan

Chaplain, William E. Wright, Big Rapids, Michigan

Adjutant, John McNaughton, Calumet, Michigan

Quartermaster, Henry Roach, Fort Clark, Texas

Sergeant Major, James P. Ryan, Muskegon, Michigan

Qm. Sergeant, Kenneth McLeod, Calumet, Michigan
Hospital Stewards, Wm. H. Rezin, Iron Mountain; George
McElveen, Hancock; G. V. Carpenter, Iron Mountain
Chief Musicians, Frederick Scott, Calumet; Henry King,
Calumet; G. R. Holderness, Calumet.

The Company Officers of the 34th Michigan were:

Company A

Eli V. R. Falardeau, Captain
Charles H. Milner, 1st Lieutenant
George R. Markham, 2nd Lieutenant

Company B

John Stronach, Jr., Captain
George H. Broadhead, 1st Lieutenant
Daniel A. Waite, 2nd Lieutenant

Company C

Frank C. Whitney, Captain
Edwin W. Watson, 1st Lieutenant
John C. Graham, 2nd Lieutenant

Company D

Julius E. Fliege, Captain
William H. Thielman, 1st Lieutenant
Angus McDonald, 2nd Lieutenant

Company E

Silas J. McGregor, Captain
Thomas Touhey, 1st Lieutenant
John O'Connell, 2nd Lieutenant

Company F

George Millar, Captain
Charles A. Hendrickson, 1st Lieutenant
Rudolph J. Haas, 2nd Lieutenant

Company G

Robert S. Welsh, Captain
Henry F. Hughart, 1st Lieutenant
Gilmore G. Scranton, 2nd Lieutenant

Company H

Robert J. Bates, Captain
Frank J. Alexander, 1st Lieutenant
William J. Tresise, 2nd Lieutenant

Company I

Frank D. Curtis, Captain
Glenn J. Lawless, 1st Lieutenant
Alfred P. Harley, 2nd Lieutenant

Company K

Robert J. Farrar, Captain
Frederick S. Padgham, 1st Lieutenant
Cady Lee White, 2nd Lieutenant

Company L

Samuel W. Wheeler, Captain
John S. Wilson, 1st Lieutenant
James A. Leisen, 2nd Lieutenant

Company M

Joseph V. McIntosh, Captain
Joseph Klaasen, 1st Lieutenant
Hiram I. Knapp, 2nd Lieutenant

After the physical examinations, and they were very rigorous and exacting, the men began an intensive training that filled every waking hour. Calisthenics, drills of all kinds were the hour of the day and then as today the splendid type of men who had been accepted hardened into fine condition. Gov. Hazen S. Pingree devoted all of his time in the Camp at Island Lake and named Camp Eaton, watching and encouraging his Michigan Regiments round into condition. He really did a job as Governor and a veteran of the Civil War, as best he could. Not one thing was left undone for the care and condition of the men of Michigan. The Secretary of War, Russell A. Alger, named Gen. Henry M. Duffield, a former Civil War officer, to command a Brigade that was known as Duffield Provisional Brigade and was made up of the 33rd and 34th Michigan Regiments and the 9th Massachusetts.

On June 6 the 34th Michigan left Island Lake for Camp Alger, Virginia. On arrival at Camp Alger it was found that all good available Camp sites had been taken by other Regiments who had arrived earlier. So the 34th was assigned to land covered by scrub trees, stumps and underbrush. Our men, many of them woodsmen and miners, started in to clean and clear the mess and at 6 P. M. every company had their suppers all cooked in their own field ranges and the Camp itself had the appearance of one of the best on the vast acreage. The work of clearing did not start until about one o'clock. Dinner was served to the 34th by the men of the 33rd that day. Intensive training was again resumed and one of the first orders of General Duffield was a forced march by his Brigade in full war equipment to the Potomac River and return. This was good training and fitted into the campaign to follow later in Cuba with the 5th Army Corps.

The day that Gen. Wm. R. Shafter's first troops landed in Cuba, our Michigan men of the 33rd and 34th passed in review as part of the huge Army Corps at Camp Alger when President Wm. McKinley visited the Camp. On June 23 the 33rd Regiment and the 1st Battalion of the 34th Michigan (Col. J. R. Bennett and Major Winans) sailed in the Auxiliary Cruiser Yale from Newport News for Santiago, landing at Baiguiri, Cuba, on June 27. On June 26 and from the same port Newport News, the 2nd and 3rd battalions and regimental staff of the 34th and the entire 9th Massachusetts sailed on the Auxiliary Cruiser Harvard, which in turn acted as convoy to the repair ship Vulcan. The Harvard reached Siboney Bay the night of June 30, and the men were landed on Cuban soil July 1 near the small town of Siboney. Camp was soon established and the men ordered to get all the rest they could, not an easy proposition for Michigan men in the tropical heat of Cuba.

In a short time after camp had been made, orders were issued that an assault was contemplated on Morro Castle. Early the morning of July 1, the 33rd had been ordered to make a feint on a small blockhouse toward Morro. This was stalemated

by a bridge down and a deep river to cross, and resulted in several men being killed by Spanish fire. During the day much ammunition and hard rations were issued to the 9th Massachusetts and 34th Michigan men, and at 10 P. M. in the moonlight of the tropics the march to San Juan Hill was started. During the march, over wet, heavy clay roads or trails the mud clung to the men's shoes like lead and made the going tough. The men began to contact casualties coming to Siboney, many dragging themselves along as best they could, not a very cheering sight to the men going forward but a reminder that it was war.

One of the thrills of the night-march was the "charge of the mulebrigade". Many mule teams hauling in our wounded men in the huge army wagons became frightened and stampeded causing the men marching on the road to get out of danger as best they could. They did but it was no joke as many casualties could have happened.

The 34th after passing several field hospitals (no shelter) reached the El Pozo house, an old sugar plantation that had been built near some cross roads and also near a small river. This was long after midnight and the men were ordered to rest. They had become so leg-weary dragging their clay covered shoes and the weight of their equipment that many were asleep as they hit the ground. After this brief rest of an hour the boys were on their way again. The shot and shells passing over and occasionally dropping down to the ground did not seem to disconcert the men.

At daybreak another stream was forded and it was at this point that several exciting things happened. The first detachment of mounted men (first we had seen) was bringing in several wounded men and also several Spanish prisoners. A few minutes later Grimes Battery drove by us at top speed going into action somewhat nearer front lines. Any one who has ever seen a horse-drawn battery going into action will never forget the picture. A hundred and sixty or more men on horses and caissons, four guns and their ammunition boxes swaying

in varied directions and every man in the battery shouting at the top of his voice is a sensation none can get out of his mind.

After this sensational battery charge had passed, we of the 34th started once more for our designated place. The men by this time had discarded much of their equipment, meaning blankets, extra clothing, personal toilet articles and even part of their food, but all had kept their Springfield cartridges, 100 rounds to a man. If you have never lugged a belt full of these huge 45 calibre cartridges you can't possibly realize the burden of weight. We all had the woolen uniforms, socks, heavy underwear on that were comfortable in Michigan.

Finally the outfit reached San Juan Hill that had been captured by assault the afternoon of July 1, and this by the boys of the regular army.

The Rough Riders were on Kettle Hill and to the rear and right of San Juan Hill, but later, after San Juan fell, made contact and were sent to the right in front line trenches with their dynamite gun, that coughed, panted and shot a charge, occasionally, made a big noise, threw up much black smoke but did little damage. It was a pneumatic gun and had to be repaired quite often.

After a brief pause the 34th was ordered to the left of San Juan Hill and deployed into columns of companies. They were sent up a long ravine and there ordered to again rest. In a brief time a small block-house got the range and showered the regiment with shrapnel and rifle fire. When they began to hit the men on the ground, orders were issued to withdraw the men. This was done in good order and the wounded men were evacuated in good shape.

The regiment then took up position back of San Juan Hill, pitching what pup tents they had left, and the rest using their rubber ponchos to sleep on. That night, July 2, in the pitch dark of the tropics, intense firing of cannon and rifles seemed concentrated on the center of our long thin line and the Spaniards had determined to attack. The men of the 34th were sent to the top of San Juan and ordered to lie down and

act as a reserve in case of need. The heavy firing continued for quite some time, but just before dawn the 34th was ordered back to quarters.

For a time it looked as though this camp would be held for some time, so an order was issued to build a bomb proof shelter. At daybreak about 7 to 8 hundred men started to cut off a part of San Juan Hill, and at nightfall it was really cut. The bomb proof was never finished but the part leveled off by the 34th made a fine camp site for the 24th U. S. Infantry, that regiment of heroic colored men who helped make history in Cuba.

In a brief time the 34th was divided into two groups. Six companies under Lt. Col. John R. Bennett were detailed to help make roads over and near El Caney, the other six companies under Col. Peterman and Major Hodskin first did guard duty at El Pozo and were then sent out to the extreme left of the line and did infantry guard protection to two batteries—Capt. Best and Capt. Grimes. Co. M was directly with Best's battery and Co. B directly with Grimes' battery. The other four companies were stationed along the roads leading to the battery positions.

On July 11, 12, 13 these two batteries and all the others along our long thin line surrounding Santiago bombarded the Spanish lines and the city. On July 14 the Spanish army offered to surrender. It was during this period that a low lying electrical storm in all its intensity broke over that part of Cuba. It was terrific, and they still speak of it in Cuba and elsewhere when the Cuban Campaign is mentioned.

On July 17 the 34th Michigan, not yet united, stood with the 12,000 or more other soldiers and watched the Spanish Army march out of Santiago and their lines after laying down their arms to wait and hope to be returned to Spain.

Our regiment was finally consolidated into a camp about four miles outside of Santiago, and for the first time during the campaign tents were provided for shelter. But, it was a sad reunion. The fine men who had left Michigan were sick

men. At one time over 85% were on sick call and the deaths were many, but despite the terrible ravages of tropical illnesses there was still a fine sense of morale.

Shipment back home was arranged in as quick a time as possible, but owing to the boats being of small size, foreign register, and very slow, the men were sent in varied detachments and according to physical condition, the worst cases first.

All were consigned to a new Army hospital camp at Montauk Point, New York. None were landed from the transports until the specialist doctors of tropical sicknesses had made a most critical examination. When finally all had been placed in camp or hospital, the matter came up of sending the men to their home stations; after the usual furlough period, to be mustered out of service.

To the glory of the State of Michigan an attempt was made to return the Michigan men in Pullman Cars as the Army had sent them to federal assembly camps. This offer was turned down and men were returned in ordinary day coaches of a very aged vintage but of course safe if not comfortable.

On September 8, 1898, the 34th Michigan was started home in three sections of a special train. Many men too sick to be moved remained at Montauk and a number of hospitals in New York and Brooklyn.

Gov. Pingree and the city of Detroit had planned a huge welcome and entertainment for the 34th in Detroit. Our trains were met in Toledo and other cities by these fine loyal citizens who escorted us back to Detroit. As many as were able of the 34th marched from the Michigan Central depot to the various hotels that had been arranged for this party. Every man of the 34th, no matter how ill, thrilled at this touch of human friendliness to do him honor, and not one thing had been overlooked to do something for this regiment of broken men, who in June had marched away as one of the finest regiments of physical and mental manhood that ever volunteered to do their country's bidding that have ever left

Michigan. Indeed the men of the 34th were grateful and there was not a man who would not have done the same thing over again.

By nightfall every soldier of the 34th was on his last lap homeward and the companies were met by the good folks of their home towns in the same warm, loving, heartfelt spirit as at Detroit.

At this time and during the 30 day furlough before muster out, some of the facts of the 34th should be mentioned in connection with their service.

Uniforms worn in the Campaign same as in the north temperate climate of Michigan, all wool; single shot Springfield rifles, with 45 calibre cartridges using black powder; medical supplies practically nil; medicine chests left on steamers transporting troops, put ashore after surrender; no shelter during almost all of the campaign; bad water and insect pests as only the tropics have them; hard tack with worms; sowbelly, chunks that weighed from 100 to 200 lbs., and called bacon; green coffee beans. These are only a few of the delights of that campaign.

At this time it is well to append a copy of Col. J. P. Peterman's report to Governor Pingree. The Colonel was acting Brigadier General of the Duffield Brigade when Gen. Duffield was sent back to the states with tropical malarial fever as were a few other officers of the 33rd and 34th.

The Colonel's report is dated in Cuba, July 16, 1898. It reads as follows:

"The conditions under which this campaign was conducted were awful. During the first few weeks the men were only half fed, the roads and passes being almost impassable, so that the commissary stores had to be packed on mules. My regiment fared particularly hard, as, owing to the haste with which we were pushed to the front, our baggage was left behind and what little the men carried was discarded or lost. We slept on the bare ground without shelter tents or any other protection from the weather. The want of proper food and

protection has undoubtedly been the cause of so much sickness. While it may have been unavoidable that the men should suffer during the early part of campaign, it seems that something should have been done to alleviate their suffering. While the food is better now, we are still practically in the same condition as to quarters, as we were on the first day of the campaign. The medical department seems to have been unable to cope with the situation, in fact, it appears to be the most inefficient of any of the departments. In spite of the fact that our regimental surgeons are doing all that can be done, many men are dying for want of proper medicine and food."

Many other reports by regimental officers were filed and were along the same lines as Col. Peterman's. Here are letters from Col. John R. Bennett concerning conditions of the 34th Michigan men on duty in and around Santiago De Cuba. He says:

"I am still here in command of six companies. Col. Peterman is with the other six on the mountain about five miles away. All have to go without comforts, that in my opinion could just as well be had. If any one gets anything in this army, they have got to hustle for it. They cannot sit down and wait for it to come to them. Sickness has set in, and we have now more than 300 sick daily, with a slight increase each day. This sickness is something like yellow fever, but it is not. We are informed that we are to return to the United States in two weeks. God knows I hope so, for so many poor boys' sake who are sick, and many who may die if kept here through the next two or three months."

As reported after Santiago surrenders:

"Well, the battle is over around Santiago—thank God for that, too. If we had been ordered to charge their works they would have piled us up 10 deep, and then we could never have reached them. Their wire fences are a great defense, and had they not been pretty hungry, I rather think they would have been in possession of the city today.

"This has been the hardest warfare for hardship that any army could possibly endure. Old army officers all agree that the war of the rebellion was no comparison.

"I have managed to find 12 or 15 tents which will help out many of our sick, who really have no shelter at all, nor have they had since the first day's fight. You people at home have no idea of the suffering that has and is being endured by this army. It certainly is too horrible for me to write about.

"Dr. Bobb was stung by a scorpion a few nights ago and I thought for a while he would have to go.

"Not a change of clothing have I had, or any of us for four weeks. Twice only have I been able to get a bath. Then I washed out my underclothing and let it dry in the sun before leaving the creek. Within a day or so I have managed to get a clean shirt only. I live in hopes for better treatment soon—not so much for my sake as for the boys who lie sick all around me. Their groans keep me awake half the night. I can only say it is awful."

"We arrived at Siboney July 1st in the morning, and all were disembarked by 4 p. m., except the baggage, which was left on board the transport Harvard. Our baggage we have not seen since. At 10 p. m., on the day of landing we were ordered to start for the front. We left at once, many of us without anything but the clothes we had on our backs. I was one of these, for all else I had was on the Harvard. We marched all night, arriving at Gen. Shafter's headquarters, two miles from the line of battle, at 4 a. m.; having forded streams, waded through mud and climbed mountains, going sometimes in single-file, again in twos and fours. My God, what a march that was. We passed wounded men by the hundred going to the rear.

"After a light breakfast we started on our way to the front, getting into business about 9 a. m., but, oh, the sight at the go-in! The road was full of wounded and dead men lying all along the roadside. Many of them had been killed that very

morning by sharp-shooters in the trees. They took pains to pick off the officers. That accounts for the large number of officers killed. I cannot describe this scene, nor will I try on paper. It was just awful.

"During the day we lost five in wounded. I was hit by a bullet in the breast, but was standing in such a manner that it must have struck me glancing, but it knocked me down.

"The ball struck a button and the cross-strap of my canteen and haversack. One of the boys at my feet, who was lying down, picked up the ball and said:

"Colonel, here's the ball that hit you!"

"It was so hot I could not hold it in my hand. I shall keep it, you bet."

"Such a battle no one can conceive—a continual war of musketry and big guns all day the first and second of July, and both nights. On the night of the third, the Spaniards made a night attack in our lines, just to our right, but from the best of information I could get in the city since, we killed and wounded 1,800 of them in that charge, without the loss of scarcely a single man on our side.

"They admit having lost 500 in the first day's fight, 1,200 in the second and 1,800 in the night attack. The thirty-fourth has seen nothing but hell since landing here, doing a little of everything on earth. When the refugees were at Caney, just before the surrender, I was sent over to look after the town with two companies. Oh, such a sight as there was there! Poor starving devils, it's too horrible to write about.

"Governor, if these are the kind of people we are fighting for—to get up a government for—God forbid. One American life is worth 100 of them.

"I, so far, have failed to find any Cubans who are not what you would call human vultures. They are mostly like our poor, low negroes of the south, only they have less principle. They steal everything they can get their hands on.

"I have finally got a Spanish pony to ride. He is branded A.M. so I call him Anne Murphy. He is the color of mud. Oh, he is handsome! You ought to see me on him once.

"I have heard nothing as to my horse since leaving Camp Alger. Major Hodskin and I are about the only officers who have been able to perform daily duty since being on the island, Majs. Winans and Latimer having both gone home sick. Others have also gone. In fact, over half of our officers are absent on sick leaves. A few of us have to do the work.

"I have no stamps, so send you this as a 'soldier's letter'."

"My dear Governor: You no doubt by this time have heard more or less of me and others in this land of hell.

"I have been so busy in looking after my poor, sick command of six companies I have thought of but one thing: 'What can I do to help them?' Six of the other companies four miles from me were on the mountain until yesterday. I received orders to join them a mile from the present camp. I started to move them yesterday.

"I had two ambulances and two six-mule teams. I managed to get 61 men in the hospital, where three died soon afterward, and three companies over to the new camp, with the aid of 50 men from that camp. Their six companies are nearly all well men.

"My command of 430 men all told has over 356 sick who are not able to even cook their own meals, and is perfectly disheartened, 14 having died in the last two weeks, and many more are to go if we are not got out of here very soon. God alone can realize the sufferings of these poor boys. While I write I have just received an order from Gen. Shafter saying this army corps is to be moved to the states as soon as transportation can be furnished. Thank God, if true—not for myself, but for our command. This is no place for an army at this season of the year. Someone will have many lives to answer for because of mismanagement since the army started

from the United States. When I see you I will tell you the story, which I cannot put on paper."

To convey an idea of the calibre of men in the 34th and before closing with muster out of this regiment, attention is called to the fact that as soon as the men, many of them had partially recovered physically, were mustered out of this service, they again enlisted in new regiments and went to the Philippines where fighting continued until 1913. Also many were sent to occupational zones in other parts of the world.

The entire twelve companies of the 34th Michigan were all mustered out of the federal service on or before December 31, 1898.

The men and officers of the 34th Michigan Volunteer Infantry did their full duty to God, State and Country and left a record that should be placed with all the other Michigan regiments who have always given their best when duty demanded their services.

At the present time there are only nine (9) commissioned officers of the forty seven (47) officers of the regiment in '98 and about 30% of the men alive. Tropical campaigns take a heavy toll other than by bullets.

The officers and men of the 34th Michigan have always been reticent to talk or write of their service and have let details be forgotten, but never in any army of the U. S. A. have men been more willing to do good service and give of themselves as asked for, without complaint than the patriotic soldiers of this Michigan outfit. Blood does not have to flow in bucketsful to ascertain the calibre of men. It is doing their best when assigned to any necessary task and its success no matter what that task may be.

The men of the 34th Michigan Volunteer Infantry did their part in helping to achieve the results in world affairs that made the United States a great world power and a leader in world affairs from 1898 up to today. What more have American men ever done since our nation was born?

The men of the 34th Michigan as did others marched to that
grand old battle hymn of the Republic;

God has sounded forth the trumpet,
That shall never sound retreat;
He is sifting out the hearts of men
Before his judgment seat;
Be quick my soul to answer him,
Be jubilant my feet—
For God is marching on.

It was a rare privilege to have been in the 34th Michigan
Volunteer Infantry.

CENTURY OF SERVICE

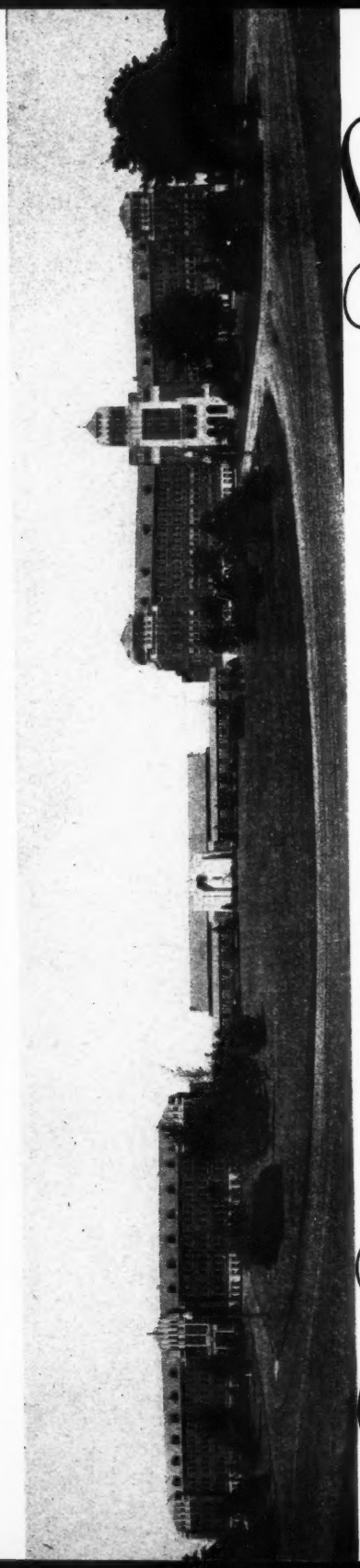
BY SISTER M. ROSALITA

MARYGROVE COLLEGE

ON January 15, 1946, the Sisters of the Immaculate Heart throughout the Americas were filled with joy and thanksgiving as the first century of service in the field of education closed. At the vast motherhouse in Monroe, on July 26 last, hundreds of ecclesiastics and representatives of religious congregations of women participated in a great thanksgiving service marking the centenary of the Congregation's founding. On November 10, friends among the laity gathered in equal numbers to witness a pageant depicting the Congregation's story.

The establishment of a religious teaching congregation on the Michigan frontier of 1845 was, however, unaware its founder and his associates might have been, in the Catholic educational tradition of the area, a tradition which began when the Old Northwest was part of New France, and which finally flowered when it became the far frontier of the Republic. Whatever his motives, Cadillac, during his ten years' rule in Detroit, repeatedly sought government support for the education of the children of the Indians and the whites in this western post. As Cadillac failed, so the bishop of Quebec failed in a similar effort half a century later.

The Catholic people of Detroit and environs established their own school at Ste. Anne's as early as 1755 and, as it appears, this school continued until near the close of the century. Gabriel Richard's work for education is a commonplace in Michigan's history of education. By 1837, there were in Detroit Catholic schools on the elementary level, an academy for girls and one for boys, and St. Philip Neri College for men. Catholic education in the outlying districts was, however, almost non-existent and it was to remedy such a condition in the Monroe area that the Congregation of the Sisters of the Immaculate Heart was founded.



Reader's left to right,

Motherhouse and St. Mary Academy,

Monroe, Michigan.

Both built in 1931-32

The year 1843 marked the second coming of Redemptorist missionaries to Michigan. In August, Father Louis Florent Gillet, a missionary from Belgium, came at Bishop Peter Le-fevere's request to minister to the Catholics within the state. In the little chapel of St. Paul, Grosse Pointe, he opened his first mission. It was on this mission that he became acquainted with the family of Joseph Renauld on whose farm the chapel stood. At a future time, two daughters of this household, Theresa and Isabelle Renauld, would support the missionary in his educational project. Father Gillet, journeying through the Saginaw country and across the southern stretches of Michigan, carried on his labors during the ensuing year. Meanwhile, he was looking for a suitable location to establish a Redemptionist house. His choice of Monroe was finally made in 1844.

Father Gillet's contact with the Catholic population during his missionary tours convinced him that if the Faith was to flourish, it must be through sound Catholic education. Once this became a conviction, Father Gillet was not a man to hesitate. He determined on a school for the parish of Monroe in which Redemptionist Brothers and laymen would teach the boys and sisters, the girls. The school would not be difficult to find. In keeping with frontier schools of the period, a house of any kind would serve. Equipment was not a problem; home-made benches and desks and assorted books gathered from many households would suffice for a start. But the problem of teaching personnel for the girls was not so easily solved.

Other missionaries had secured the services of teaching religious from Europe, but he lacked means for such a project. Instead, he interested four American women whom he had met since his arrival in the United States, in the establishment of a religious teaching Sisterhood. These pioneers were Theresa Maxis and Ann Schaaf, both of Baltimore; Therese Renauld of Grosse Pointe; and Josette Godfrey Smyth, a native of Detroit, but in 1845, a widow residing in Monroe. The first two

women, as former members of the Oblate Sisters of Providence, were teachers of some fifteen years' experience.

In a small house on the north shore of the River Raisin, opposite the city of Monroe, three of these women met with Father Gillet on November 10, 1845, and definitely determined to cooperate with him in the establishing of a teaching Sisterhood. During the ensuing weeks, affairs moved swiftly. By the close of November, the simple rule written by the missionary for the new community had been approved by Bishop Lefevere and community life had started.

Meanwhile, a second house which had been placed at the sisters' disposal was being prepared for school purposes. The final step was the announcement of the new institution in the local press. The Christmas Day, 1845, issue of the *Monroe Advocate* gave its front page space to such matters as the Oregon Question, to John Quincy Adams' remonstrance against the admission of Texas as a slave state, to the questionable policy of increasing our territory from ocean to ocean, and to an interesting description of the march of the Mormons out of Nauvoo on their way to California. On page two of the *Advocate*, not far from an out-dated advertisement of the Monroe Branch of the University of Michigan, the prospectus of the "Young Ladies Academy" appeared. Typical of prospectuses of the time the school combined every advantage that could be desired in "a literary institute for young ladies".

Humble as the pioneer settlement from which it sprang, brave as the hearts of those who sponsored it, the Young Ladies Academy opened its doors on January 15, 1846, to forty day pupils and four boarders. Actually, the school made provision for three levels of learning, namely, the infant class, the elementary division, and the more advanced group. The study of religion was taken as a matter of course. The two lower classes had, in addition, the subjects taught in the common schools of Michigan in 1845. These later deviated little in their course of studies from the provisions of the law of 1827 which required that the schoolmaster instruct the children in reading, writing, arithmetic, the English or French

language, orthography and "decent behavior." The course for the more advanced pupils included, besides these fundamentals, the study of literature, ancient and modern history, natural philosophy, astronomy, bookkeeping, domestic economy, and music.

During the first school session which ended with a public exhibition and distribution of prizes on the last Tuesday of August, the line of demarcation between the schoolhouse and the convent was not always fixed. Mother Theresa has left an interesting account of those first days in the *Chronicles of the Motherhouse*. She wrote:

It is now time to say something of the first habitation of the Sisters. They occupied two small houses situated about ninety steps from each other; in one of these, they had two schools, one for the more advanced, and the other for the younger children. Two sisters passed the night in one; while the other remained with the boarders, whom even at this early period they received. As it was necessary for the Community to be united during meals and the common exercises, they were obliged to assemble sometimes in one house, and sometimes in the other; thus making this traverse ten or twelve times a day, and that in the depth of winter. . . .

The year 1847 marked the building of a small convent. An addition was made the following year which provided two extra school rooms on the first floor and sleeping quarters on the second. The cost of the building was defrayed by the Redemptorist Fathers with some help from the Society of the Propagation of the Faith in France. This increase in space made it possible to bring young girls from the outlying districts to the school in the summer vacation, where they remained as boarders during a course of religious instruction preparatory to First Communion and Confirmation. With these children, the sisters shared the little their poverty afforded. Thus was that work of catechising originated, which today takes several hundred Sisters on Saturdays and Sundays to various towns and hamlets to teach some nine thousand

children who otherwise would be deprived of religious instruction.

The annals of the Sisterhood in its first ten years do not record a story of rapid growth and prosperity; quite the contrary. After a period of seven years there were but six members; by the close of the decade, the number had reached nine. The boarding school, which was increased by several additions, continued to have a small enrollment; the day school increased steadily. Income from tuition, as might be expected in a frontier area, was meager. Not until the Civil War period had passed was the school self-supporting.

The missionary labors of the Congregation began in the year 1855 when St. Michael's school, Monroe, and St. Joseph's school, Vienna (now Erie) were accepted. Three sisters went to live in the latter village, ten miles from Monroe; two to conduct the school, the third to act as housekeeper. All missions for the next decade followed this organization.

The first opportunity for a mission outside the state of Michigan came in 1858 when the Sisterhood was invited to teach at St. Joseph Academy, Susquehanna County, Pennsylvania. A second call came shortly from St Peter's, Reading. Difficulties and misunderstandings arising in connection with the latter mission, resulted in the decision of Bishop Lefevere to make a complete separation in government between the houses in Pennsylvania and those in Michigan. Some twelve years later the diocese of Pennsylvania was divided, with Scranton as the see city of the new diocese. This, in turn, brought a second division in the Sisterhood. Those sisters on missions within the jurisdiction of the northern diocese formed the Scranton Congregation of the Immaculate Heart; those of the southern diocese continued as the Congregation of West Chester, whither the Reading motherhouse was transferred in 1872.

Just as John Pierce and Isaac Crary, interested in providing the young state of Michigan with a common school system, saw the possibility of adaptation in the then current report of

Victor Cousin on the Prussian school system, so the Immaculate Heart Congregation looked to Europe for a system of education which could be adapted to the American scene. In 1862, Father John DeNeve, rector of the American College of Louvain, and a former missionary in Michigan, forwarded a copy of the complete Saint André system of education. This system was in use in parts of Belgium, but it was built upon the work of French educators, notably that of Felix-Antoine Dupanloup. The Saint André system, which comprised a complete plan for both boarding and day schools, was adapted by the Immaculate Heart Sisters, to the needs of American youth and followed in all schools of the Congregation for half a century. The system took cognizance of the child and the teacher. The organization of the school, the course of studies, and the provisions for extra-curricular activities, were planned with the complete mental, moral, and physical education of the child as the objective. The organization of the faculty, the stress on the spirit of cooperation through teachers' weekly meetings, the training of teachers in a common methodology made for a group strongly united in the best interests of the school. These latter features were retained for many years and, even today, some vestiges remain.

The important problem of teacher-training in the Congregation during the 1870's should be viewed against the contemporary background of normal training throughout the United States. That the normal school idea, with few exceptions, made little headway in our Country until after 1870, and that, in general, normal schools left much to be desired, is the opinion of authorities in the field. While superiors of the Congregation realized that more specialized teacher training was needed, the poverty of the Congregation prohibited the expenditure involved in sending sisters away to study. At last, in September, 1876, the first normal school of the Congregation was opened for the benefit of its own members. The directress, a woman of sound experience, was assisted in her work by part-time teachers. The novices and postulants of the Congregation formed the student body of the normal during the year.

The young professed sisters joined their ranks during the six weeks of the summer vacation. This institution continued its service to the young of the Congregation until 1915.

Since the Sisters of the Immaculate Heart of Monroe taught almost exclusively in Detroit Diocese, the efforts of the bishop of Detroit in the 1880's to organize parochial school education had a very direct bearing on the Community. The bishop achieved his objective with the cooperation of the religious teaching congregations in his diocese and his priests. Though education was considered in the fourth, fifth, and seventh diocesan synods, it was in the seventh, held in 1886, that important regulations were made; this formed the basic school law of the diocese for thirty years. Perhaps the most far reaching measure was that providing for the establishment of a diocesan school board which was given very specific duties. The diocese was districted and a member of the board was assigned to a district. Each board member had the responsibility of visiting the schools in his district twice a year and reporting to the president on the curriculum, discipline, the condition of the building, and the equipment of each school. The board had the further obligation of certifying teachers, religious and lay, after regular examinations which varied with the certificate sought. From 1886 until 1915, these examinations were held in Monroe triennially. The summer school of the present day had its ancestry in the summer schools preparatory to diocesan examinations.

While the Congregation was making important improvements in its educational system in general, it was not neglecting the boarding school which began a more prosperous existence immediately following the close of the Civil War. A new three-story brick building, called St. Mary's Hall, replaced the frame structure of earlier days. With better living conditions and facilities for education, the enrollment grew. The institution became better known through its pupils who came from various states of the Union as well as from Michigan. Between 1867 and 1898, three separate brick structures and six additions, two of which were larger than St. Mary's Hall, were

erected on the north shore of the Raisin River. The need for such a building program speaks conclusively for the growth of the school during these thirty years.

The year 1889 marked the accreditation of St. Mary's Academy by the University of Michigan, and shortly afterward by the Catholic University of America, affiliations which have continued these fifty-six years. In this, the Academy set something of a precedent, for, of the thirty-six high schools under the present direction of the Immaculate Heart Congregation of Monroe, all but two are accredited by the University of Michigan.

As a result of mission expansion in the period 1860 to 1900, the Congregation opened twenty-seven missions in eighteen cities of Michigan, exclusive of Detroit. The decade of the 1860's marked the peak of that period with at least one new mission in every year except that of 1865. The story of this decade as recorded in the chronicles of each house, reflects a pioneer period in every respect. In the matter of transportation, for example, the sisters opening the Adrian mission in 1863 traveled over the Monroe-Adrian branch of the Lake Shore "the first railroad to be built and operated in the northwest." Those going to the new Westphalia mission three years later, however, must have gone by stage. They left Monroe on November 21 and arrived at their destination only at eight o'clock in the evening of November 23 "on account of the bad roads."

Generally speaking, the school-houses and convents were very poor; many were mere makeshifts and the reason oftenest given for closing a house was the illness among the sisters because of housing conditions. Poor as these establishments were, the pastors found great difficulty in financing them, for the Catholic people upon whom they must depend were almost without exception, struggling for existence. Had the Congregation not cooperated with both priest and people, many of these early schools could not have continued in existence.

In striking contrast to this period, was that of the twentieth-century foundations, in number of missions, in school

buildings and equipment, and in enrollments. In the first two decades of the new century, the number of missions doubled. In the next twenty years the number reached sixty. This expansion, in as far as the Detroit foundations are concerned, was a reflex of the rapidly growing City of the Straits. Practically all of these missions were opened in newly organized parishes beyond the boundaries of the quiet little Detroit of the 1890's. The story of the growth of the past twenty-five years is told only in part in the increase of new missions. Equally important is the increase of enrollment within the schools opened in previous years. In 1900, for example, the total enrollment was 7,541; in 1910 it had grown to 11,360; in 1920 it was 22,306; and the present enrollment is 34,951.

The widening circle of the missions and the service which they represent has been possible only because the increase in numbers in the Sisterhood has advanced in proportion. At the close of 1865, after an existence of twenty years, the Congregation numbered less than one hundred living members. In the single decade following 1905, there was a greater increase than in the preceding half century; between 1925 and 1935, there were 365 new members admitted into the Congregation. The total number of professed members over the century reached 1,448. Of this number, 1,085 are living in the centennial year.

The twentieth century has marked a rapid advance in the achievements of the Congregation. The building program alone, dictated by need, has been extensive. Mother Mechtildis, general superior from 1900 to 1918, erected St. Mary's College and Academy in 1904, and the Hall of the Divine Child, a semi-military school for boys of grade school age, in 1917. Her successor, Mother Domitilla, whose term of office continued until 1930, purchased eighty acres of land in Detroit for the campus of Marygrove College. During her administration, between the years of 1925 and 1927, the Liberal Arts building, Madame Cadillac residence hall, the Faculty House, and the power plant were built. She lived to witness the destruction of St. Mary's College and Academy by fire on June 3, 1929.

Upon Mother Ruth, general superior from 1930 until 1942, devolved the responsibility of erecting a new academy, a new motherhouse, and Immaculata High School in Detroit. The work at hand for the present general superior, Mother Teresa, is the erection of a science building at Marygrove College.

The schools of the Congregation are organized from pre-school through college. Marygrove, the capstone of the system, dates back to 1905 when St. Mary's College, Monroe, inaugurated the first year of the college course. In 1910, the college was empowered to grant degrees, and on June 16, 1914, the first degree was awarded by Right Reverend John S. Foley, bishop of Detroit.

When need for expanding college facilities was under consideration in 1920, Bishop Michael Gallagher requested the Congregation to transfer the college to Detroit in order to provide opportunity for Catholic higher education to a greater number of Catholic women. In 1922, as previously noted, an eighty-acre tract of land in Greenfield township was purchased. In September 1927, Marygrove College opened its doors to 278 students, a number which has almost tripled in the present year.

Marygrove College was accredited by the National Catholic Educational Association and the North Central Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools while it was still located in Monroe. Application for approval by the Association of American Universities was made in 1942 and on June 29, 1943, inspection of the College to that end was made by a representative of the Association. Accreditation was granted four months later.

As one views in retrospect the hundred-year record of service of the Immaculate Heart Sisterhood, the gospel story of the mustard seed comes to mind. From the first foundation on the north shore of the Raisin River, two foundations, West Chester and Scranton, have stemmed. While the Monroe Congregation has remained almost entirely in Michigan, that of West Chester has spread to South America, where, for a quarter of a century, it has conducted schools in Peru and, more recently, in

Chile. The Scranton Congregation, most numerous in Pennsylvania, directs educational institutions from New York to Oregon. Such expansion has been possible only because of the growth in numbers. From the original band of four pioneers, the three foundations in the centennial year total 3,455 professed members. The little school that opened January 15, 1846, has expanded to 209 parochial grade schools, eighty-three high schools and eleven boarding schools. Each congregation conducts a liberal arts college. From the "forty pupils and four boarders" that made the first enrollment, the blue-robed sisters in 1945 teach a total of 99,936 grade and high school pupils and a college enrollment of 1,465 students.

Such material growth has been born of sacrifice, for the Catholic citizens who sponsor parochial schools bear a double burden of taxation. These schools are endowed, not by the gifts of the wealthy, but by women who believe in Christian education sufficiently to consecrate their lives to its service. The worthwhileness of this service is estimated differently by many not of the Catholic faith. Chase Osborn, a former esteemed governor of Michigan, spoke out in the dark days of 1920 when a voice, alien to the cooperative spirit that has ever marked the parallel school systems of Michigan, was raised against the parochial school. His message is still true, in these yet darker days. He said:

There are spiritual values in the parochial school and its work. In all other schools they may be present but are more or less hidden. It is the consensus of opinion in the world that if the world is to be saved its salvation must come through spiritual values. Why then, kill off the only popular instrument of spiritual teaching at this time, even though the implement may be faulty and not as popular as it should be or might be. It would be better to teach Thomas a Kempis in all the public and parochial schools in this country and the world than not to teach his spiritual faith and philosophy anywhere. I hold that the beginning of all education consists in knowing as much of God and His wondrous ways as the finite mind can comprehend. The parochial schools are doing their best to teach in this way.

HISTORY OF WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION IN MICHIGAN

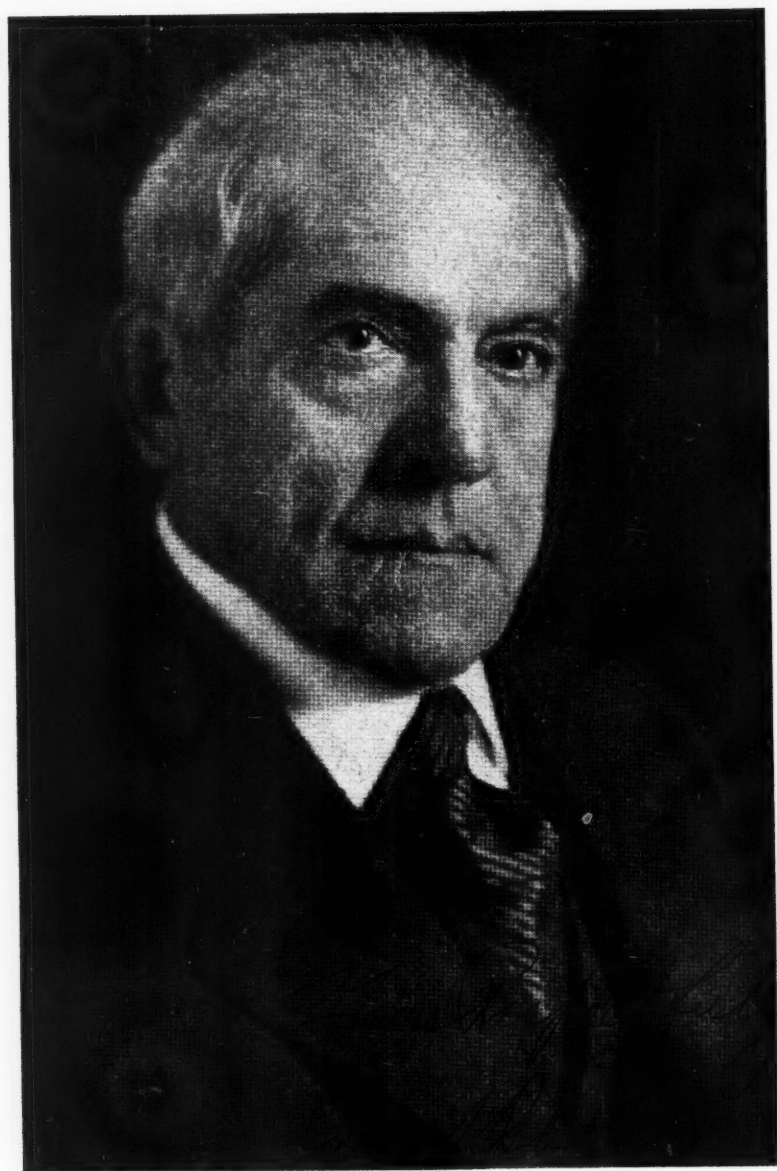
BY BETTY W. ALLIE

HIGHLAND PARK

THROUGHOUT the period of the 33-year existence of Michigan's Workmen's Compensation Law many improvements have been added to the original act. In order to determine the advancement of workmen's compensation in Michigan it is necessary to review its history preceding and following enactment of the law.

In 1911 Governor Chase S. Osborn appointed a commission by the authority of Act No. 245 of the Public Acts of 1911, to investigate and report a plan for legislative action to provide compensation for accidental industrial injuries or death arising out of and in the course of employment. The act was approved by the legislature and ordered to take immediate effect on May 1, 1911. Members of the commission appointed by Governor Osborn were: Hal H. Smith, chairman, Detroit; Charles R. Sligh, vice-chairman, Grand Rapids; Michael P. McCuen, Grand Rapids; William P. Belden, Ishpeming; Ora E. Reaves, Jackson; Richard L. Drake, secretary, Detroit.

This commission was created because of wide dissatisfaction with the employer's liability at common law for injuries suffered by his employees. Such liability was based upon the employer's negligence and recovery could not be had in the absence of such factor. Furthermore, the employer had the benefit of three common law defenses. Under the doctrine of assumed risk an employee was held to assume the ordinary and obvious risk incident to his employment, and if he was injured as a result of this risk, he could not recover. Under the fellow-servant doctrine an employee could not recover if he had been injured through the negligence of a fellow servant. Under the doctrine of contributory negligence the employee could not recover if his injury was due in any part to his own negligence. Assuming that an employee received an injury by reason of his employment and that such injury was



not the result of a risk ordinarily incident to his employment; that it was not the result of the negligence of a fellow servant; that it was not contributed to in any way by his own negligence and that it was due to the negligence of the employer, the employee could recover in an action in common law for damages. Needless to say it was only in a very small percentage of the cases involving industrial injuries that all of the elements necessary for recovery were present. Again, assuming that recovery could be had at common law, the measure of damages for the injury was determined by the court or jury sitting in the particular case. It followed that damages for similar injuries were widely variant in amount. A claimant in one case might be awarded damages in the amount of several thousand dollars; while a claimant in another case, before another court and jury, might be awarded damages for only a few hundred dollars, although the injuries in both cases may have been similar in effect and extent. Progressive thinking of the day favored the adoption of a system whereby the cost of injuries would be considered a part of the cost of production, in the same way as the wear and tear on machinery, and thus passed on to the general public. It was for this reason, and with this idea, that the commission hereinbefore mentioned was created and after an exhaustive study recommended the adoption of a workmen's compensation law and drafted a bill for that purpose.

The bill had the sanction of Governor Osborn and on February 26, the first day of the first extra session of 1912, his message to the legislature read in part, ". . . A bill has been prepared by your Commission which I respectfully call to your attention and request for it your favorable consideration. The arguments for the law proposed are irrefutable. I directed your attention to this subject in my inaugural message. Your early action will hasten the day when shall start a more just and wise and happy distribution of the hazards of industrial employment. In this question alone I could find easy justification for convening this legislature in extraordinary

session. If you enact the bill recommended by your Commission, the law will go into effect a year earlier than otherwise; and the saving to the State in reduced court expenses, and to both employers and workmen by having just sums for damages applied in accordance with the right, and in obviating bitter frictions and enmities of suits at law will be many times the amount of the cost of a special session of the legislature."

As a result, the legislature of Michigan, at its first extra session of 1912, enacted a simple workmen's compensation law, known as Public Act No. 10, providing modest benefits to employees incapacitated through accidents "arising out of and in the course of their employment." The act went into effect on September 1, 1912.

The Workmen's Compensation Act was originally designed and read specifically, "... to promote the welfare of the people of this State, relating to the liability of employers for injuries or deaths sustained by their employees, *providing compensation for the accidental injury to or death of employees* and methods for the payment of same, establishing an Industrial Accident Board, defining its powers, providing for a review of its awards, making an appropriation to carry out the provisions of this Act and restricting the right to compensation or damages in such cases to such as are provided by this Act." In 1937 the language in italics above was amended to read, "... providing compensation for the disability or death resulting from occupational injuries or disease or accidental injury to or death of employees . . ." indicating the progressive development of workmen's compensation thinking in this state.

Under the original act a commission was created known as the Industrial Accident Board, which consisted of three members appointed by Governor Osborn, by and with the consent of the senate, one of whom was designated by the governor as chairman. The terms of office for each member was set at six years, excepting the original appointees, who served for two, four and six years. Thereafter, a member of the com-

mission was appointed every second year for the full term of six years.

The Industrial Accident Board was abolished by authority of Act No. 43 of the Public Acts of 1921 and its powers and duties were transferred to the Michigan Department of Labor and Industry. The administrative commission, powers and duties, remained as originally set forth.

In 1925, as a result of Public Act No. 377, the administrative procedure was amended increasing the commission from a three- to a four-member board. The staggered term basis of appointment was eliminated in this year and commissioners served only at the pleasure of the governor. This act also made compulsory the appointment of an attorney as a member of the commission, never before required. Further amendments were instituted in 1937 by Act No. 267 creating a six-member board and making compulsory the appointments of three attorneys on the commission. Again in 1943, administrative changes were enacted as a result of Public Act No. 241. This amendment provided for the terms of commissioners to run for periods of one, two, three, four, five and six years. Of the six-member commission one is designated by the governor as Commissioner of Labor. The Commissioner of Labor is authorized with general charge and supervision over administrative affairs of the Labor Division. The five remaining members of the commission, with one designated as chairman, administer the Workmen's Compensation Law. This basis of operation was the inception of individual functioning of the labor division and the Workmen's Compensation Commission in the Michigan Department of Labor and Industry.

Deputy commissioners have served in quasi-judicial capacities, subject to the direction of the commission, since the origin of the law. For the period from 1912 to 1919 two deputies were selected by the commission for the express purpose of conducting preliminary hearings on all controverted compensation cases. From 1919 to the present date the number of deputy commissioners, subject to the determination of the



JOHN E. KINNANE

Workmen's Compensation Commission, have varied but usually there have been six deputies employed.

Since the enactment of the Workmen's Compensation Law in the State of Michigan there have been forty-three commissioners appointed during various administrations. The first commission, then termed the Industrial Accident Board, appointed by Governor Chase S. Osborn in 1912, was Chairman John E. Kinnane, Commissioners Ora E. Reaves, and James A. Kennedy. The first secretary was Richard Drake, a labor official. Mr. Kinnane was reappointed by Governor Woodbridge N. Ferris in 1914 and served in the capacity of chairman until 1916.

The present commission consists of Chairman Betty W. Allie; Commissioners James L. Hill, Vincent F. McAuliffe, Charles H. Mahoney, and Joe M. Moore.

Chairmen of the commission in the interim from the origin of the law to the present date were: John E. Kinnane, for the terms already stated; Thomas B. Gloster, appointed by Governor Ferris in 1916; William M. Smith, appointed by Governor Albert E. Sleeper in 1917; James A. Kennedy, appointed by Governor Sleeper in 1919, and reappointed by Governor Alexander J. Groesbeck in 1921; Frank Sanders, appointed by Governor Groesbeck in 1925; Eugene J. Brock, appointed by Governor Fred W. Green in 1927; Samuel H. Rhoads, appointed by Governor Wilber M. Brucker in 1931; Claude S. Carney, appointed by Governor William A. Comstock in 1933; Frank F. Ford, appointed by Governor Frank D. Fitzgerald in 1935; George A. Krogstad, appointed by Governor Frank Murphy in 1937; James F. Shepherd, appointed by Governor Frank D. Fitzgerald in 1939; John W. Gibson, appointed by Governor Murray D. Van Wagoner in 1941 and Betty W. Allie, appointed by Governor Harry F. Kelly in 1943.

During the 33-year history of workmen's compensation in Michigan only one woman, Betty W. Allie, has served as chairman. She is presently also a member of the Legislative Committee of the International Association of Industrial Accident Boards and Commissions.

Of the forty-three commissioners who served in the administration of workmen's compensation four have been women. The first, Isabel Larwill, was appointed by Governor Fred W. Green in 1927 and served by appointment of four governors for approximately nine years. Betty W. Allie was the second woman commissioner and was appointed by Governor Frank D. Fitzgerald in 1935. In 1937 Besse M. Garner was appointed by Governor Frank Murphy and Elizabeth L. Belen was appointed in 1941 by Governor Murray D. Van Wagoner.

Of noteworthy interest is a review of the advancement made in Michigan's Workmen's Compensation Law since 1912. The greater strides were made during the past two and one-half years, or to be more specific, since July, 1943. However, several amendments were enacted to the original law prior to this date that greatly improved coverage of workmen's compensation.

When workmen's compensation was first enacted, the law was elective for employers and they could choose whether or not they desired to come under the benefits of the act. This section of the law remained without change until the amendments in 1943, known as Act No. 245 of the Public Acts of 1943, made the act compulsory for all employers employing eight or more workers, excepting farm or domestic labor. Following the legislation of the original law, from 1912 to 1916, 15,106 employers elected to come under the act. In 1916, one year later, this total increased to 18,674 employers. Today there are over 52,000 employers operating under the provisions of the Michigan Workmen's Compensation Law.

The original law of 1912 provided compensation for injured employees only in the event of accidents occurring during the course of employment. Proper benefits of the law were greatly curtailed as the result. In 1937 Michigan's first occupational disease law known as Act No. 61, of the Public Acts of 1937, was passed and became effective October 29, of the same year. The amendment added substantially to the coverage provided but was called the "Limited Law" because its benefits were limited to thirty-one specific diseases. Although the addition

of occupational diseases improved the protection of an employee, the benefits of the law were greatly curtailed in the scheduling of specific diseases, because it necessitated the establishing of the manner and process of contracting occupational diseases. The 1937 amendment was proven inadequate after a period of six years.

The 1943 amendments, often referred to as the "All Inclusive Act," eliminated the schedule entirely and included within the general coverage of the law all industrial diseases and injuries arising out of and in the course of employment.

The improvement of disability benefits provided injured employees under the law, from the year 1912 to date, is of additional significance.

Originally the law provided one-half of the average weekly wage but not more than \$10.00 or less than \$4.00 with the total amount payable of \$4,000 for permanent disability. Medical and hospital service was provided for the first three weeks following the date of injury. Benefits were increased by amendments to the law in the years 1919, 1921, 1927 and 1943.

In 1919 benefits were based on 60 percent of the average weekly wage but not more than \$14.00 nor less than \$7.00 per week, with a maximum compensation benefit payable of \$6,000, greater by \$2,000 than granted under the 1912 law. Medical care was furnished for the first 90 days following the date of injury. In 1921 the basis of compensation benefits remained identical, as authorized in 1919 but the total compensation payable for disability was increased from \$6,000 to \$7,000. The year 1927 brought about further amendments providing for $66 \frac{2}{3}$ of the average weekly wage but not more than \$18.00 nor less than \$7.00 per week to be paid in compensation benefits. The maximum amount payable was increased to \$9,000, an increase of \$5,000 under this section of the law from its enactment in 1912 to the year 1927. Medical service remained the same. The percentage of average weekly wage applicable to benefits payable remained at $66 \frac{2}{3}$ in 1943 but the maximum and minimum benefits were increased to \$21.00 and \$10.00 per week respectively. The maximum amount for



BETTY W. ALLIE

permanent disability benefits increased again by \$1,500 over the amount set forth in the 1927 amendment, making a total of \$10,500 payable for permanent injuries. Medical service was revised to extend over a period of six months after the date of injury. A significant clause was added to the law granting an additional six months for medical service to be granted at the discretion of the Workmen's Compensation Commission. A new clause under the 1943 amendment provided further benefits for permanently injured employees. Prior to 1943 a maximum of 500 weeks was allowed for total disability. This section of the law is retained, but the added provision in the present law extends the period to 750 weeks for permanent total disability.

Three amendments to the death benefit section of the original law brought about greatly improved provisions. The original law recorded benefits of 50 percent of the average weekly wage but not more than \$10.00 nor less than \$4.00 for 300 weeks from the date of the fatality. This was amended in 1919 granting 60 percent of the average weekly wage but not more than \$14.00 nor less than \$7.00 per week for 300 weeks from the date of death of an employee. The year 1927 brought about an increase in the percentage of the average weekly wage applicable to death benefits. This increased to 66 $\frac{2}{3}$, but weekly payments were set at no more than \$18.00 nor less than \$7.00 per week for a period of 300 weeks from the date of injury. The 1943 amendments increased the weekly benefits payable in the event of death to a maximum of \$19.00 and a minimum of \$8.00 for one dependent with the maximum and minimum increasing at the rate of \$2.00 for each additional dependent up to and including five. For instance, with five dependents the maximum rate is now \$27.00 and the minimum is now \$16.00. The period of weekly benefits was extended to 400 weeks from the date of death.

A completely new feature of the Michigan Workmen's Compensation Law in the 1943 amendments is the inclusion of a Second Injury Fund provision. The fund is now well established and is made up of payments from employers totalling

\$1,000 whenever death results from an industrial injury and the deceased employee leaves no dependent entitled to compensation under the Workmen's Compensation Act. Part II, Section 8a, states, ". . . If an employe has at the time of injury permanent disability in the form of the loss of a hand or arm or foot or leg or eye and at the time of such injury incurs further permanent disability in the form of the loss of a hand or arm or foot or leg or eye, he shall be deemed to be totally and permanently disabled and shall be paid, from the funds provided in this section, compensation for total and permanent disability after subtracting the amount of compensation received by the employe for both such losses. The payment of compensation under this section shall begin at the conclusion of the payments made for the second permanent disability. Such payments shall be made upon the order of the Compensation Commission." The fund now has deposits totalling over \$100,000. Michigan is one of only 14 states out of 48 with a second injury fund provision.

Michigan's most recent 1945 amendments to the Workmen's Compensation Act provides for appliances to be furnished injured employees by employers. Part II, Section 4, of the amendment contains the following provision, ". . . The employer shall also supply to such injured employe dental service, crutches, artificial limbs, eyes, teeth, eye glasses, hearing apparatus and such other appliances as may be necessary to cure, so far as reasonably possible, and relieve from the effects of the injury."

A radical change in the Michigan Workmen's Compensation Law was the revision of procedure in the payment of compensation. The law from its enactment in 1912 to the year 1943 provided for the payment of compensation upon the execution of an agreement and its approval by the Commission. This agreement, when approved, had the force and effect of an arbitral award. The primary flaw in this method of payment was that it delayed payment of compensation. The 1943 amendments abolished the agreement system and payments of compensation are now made directly to the injured employee

without the necessity of any formal agreement or final adjudication of the rights of the parties. The improvement resultant through the revision in payment of compensation is reflected in pay lag studies computed by the department. A study made early in 1943 showed that on only 16 percent of the cases compensation payments were started within the statutory limit of two weeks from the onset of liability. On compensable injuries occurring since August 1, 1943 and closed out by July 1944, 33 percent had the first payment made within two weeks. Another 25 percent completed first payments within three weeks. The department's most recent study, for the period from January 1, 1945, to June 30, 1945, reveals continued improvement with approximately 35 percent making payment in the first two weeks and 60 percent with payments begun within three weeks.

The growth of the activities of the Workmen's Compensation Commission is reflected in the increase of compensable injuries reported which, in relativity, increased the responsibilities of the Compensation Commission. For instance, comparative data shows an average of 23,688 compensable injuries reported yearly in the five-year period from January 1, 1935, to January 1, 1940. During the fiscal periods from July 1, 1943, to June 30, 1945, an average was recorded of 38,320 compensable injuries yearly.

As a result of the preceding facts the activity of the Workmen's Compensation Commission increased accordingly. During the past ten years, from January 1, 1935, to January 1, 1945, approximately 33,000 hearings have been scheduled and conducted by the Workmen's Compensation Commission. In the approximate five-year period from January 1, 1941, to October 1, 1945, a total of 19,182 hearings were scheduled. The 1943 amendments brought about a more rapid growth and increase in responsibilities as exhibited in the recording of 11,133 hearings scheduled between July 1, 1943, to October 1, 1945, a twenty-seven-month period. This latter total is ap-

proximately 56 percent of the entire total registered in the five-year span beginning January 1, 1941.

Few additions have been made to the staff of the Workmen's Compensation Commission in its thirty-three-year old history. Today there are 45 persons employed, distributed among six divisions handling statistics, correspondence, insurance, arbitration, legal, and auditing operations. This number is relatively small when the volume of work to be handled is considered.

Thus, Michigan now takes a leading and prominent place among the states providing workmen's compensation.

APPOINTMENTS TO THE MICHIGAN SUPREME AND CHANCERY COURTS, 1836-1850

(Continued from the January-March issue of the Magazine)

By CLARK F. NORTON

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II

Elon Farnsworth

ELON FARNSWORTH was born in Vermont in 1779. A graduate of Middlebury College, he studied law in Vermont for a short time before he came to Detroit in 1822 and entered the law office of Solomon Sibley and Andrew G. Whitney. In 1825 he was admitted to practice in the supreme court of the territory, and appeared as counsel in more than seventy-five cases before that court between 1825 and 1836. Farnsworth formed a law partnership with Daniel Goodwin in 1826, and in 1834 he was elected to the legislative council of the territory.⁹²

As Chancellor, Farnsworth has been universally praised for the way in which he administered the office. It has been said that under him Michigan's equity system "... became well adapted to the necessities of the community, and divested of unreasonable conditions and vexatious delay."⁹³ In 1839 he adopted a set of rules for the court of chancery⁹⁴ which is reported to have simplified the practice and made for a quicker disposition of business than had prevailed either in England or in the State of New York.⁹⁵ After an unsuccessful campaign

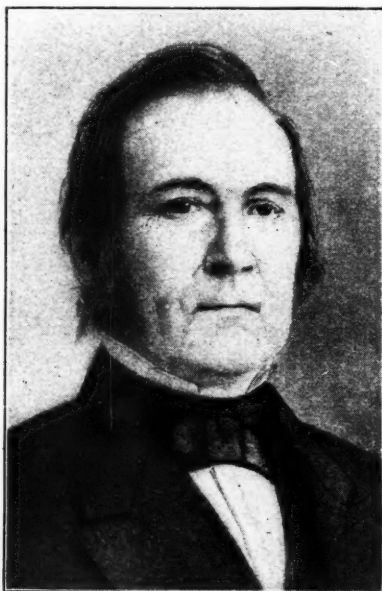
⁹²Biographical sketches from which the above has been summarized are the following: *American Biographical History of Eminent and Self-Made Men: Representative Men of Michigan* (Cincinnati, 1878), part I, pp. 52-3; W. W. Blume, *Transactions of the Supreme Court of the Territory of Michigan, 1825-1836*, I, p. 31; Howell, *Nisi Prius Cases*, pp. 305-306; Felch, "Michigan's Court of Chancery," *Mich. Pioneer and Hist. Soc., Colls.*, XXI, 328-329; Ross, *op cit.*, p. 60; C. I. Walker, *Scrapbook III*, 147, *Burton Hist. Coll.*

⁹³J. V. Campbell, "Judicial History of Michigan," in *The Semi-Centennial of the Admission of the State of Michigan into the Union*, p. 124.

⁹⁴*Rules and Orders of the Court of Chancery of the State of Michigan, Revised and Established by the Chancellor in January, 1839* (J. S. and S. A. Bagge, Detroit, 1839).

⁹⁵See the preface to Campbell's *Annotations of Walker's Chancery Reports* (Detroit, 1878), p. v.

for the governorship on the *Democratic* ticket in 1839,⁹⁶ it was rumored the next year that he would soon resign.⁹⁷ However, he did not do so until March 1842.⁹⁸ High tribute was paid him upon his retirement; even the whig press expressed its appreciation of the services he had rendered:



ELON FARNSWORTH

We receive this annunciation with sincere, unaffected regret. He has discharged the responsible duties of his station with great fidelity and integrity, and to the general acceptance, and it will be difficult to supply his place. No consideration save an earnest desire to do right, ever seemed in the slightest degree to influence his conduct,

⁹⁶Farnsworth was greatly criticized at the time because he did not resign his office during the election campaign. *Michigan State Journal*, Sept. 18 and 25, 1839.

⁹⁷J. W. Gordon to W. Woodbridge, Nov. 11, 1840, Woodbridge Papers, Burton Hist. Colls.

⁹⁸*Free Press*, March 4, 1842.

and in anxious search for the right, no labor or pains were spared. May the judiciary of Michigan always boast of such ornaments.⁹⁹

Moreover, praise for Farnsworth was not restricted to the boundaries of Michigan.¹⁰⁰ Although he resigned presumably because of ill-health,¹⁰¹ he was appointed to the attorney-generalship by Governor Barry the following year.¹⁰²

When in 1846 the legislature decided to abolish the separate court of chancery,¹⁰³ the incumbent chancellor, Randolph Manning, who had succeeded Farnsworth in 1842, resigned the office several months before the law decreeing its end became effective.¹⁰⁴ With some difficulty Governor Felch managed to persuade Farnsworth to accept the chancellorship from June 1, 1846, until it would expire by law on March 1, 1847.¹⁰⁵ Thus during the last nine months' existence of the court of chancery it was presided over by the man who, as the first chancellor, had done so much to improve the administration of equity in Michigan.¹⁰⁶ On his second retirement in 1847 the Detroit bar commended Farnsworth for the "professional ability," the "purest integrity," and the "sense of justice" which had marked his decisions.¹⁰⁷ Farnsworth was a director of the newly-founded Michigan Central Railroad for about twenty

⁹⁹*Detroit Advertiser*, quoted in the *Michigan State Journal*, March 8, 1842.

¹⁰⁰The *Albany* (N. Y.) *Argus* (quoted in the *Free Press*, April 23, 1842) said of Farnsworth that "... no man has preserved a more unsullied public and private reputation, and no man is more uniformly respected for the able and impartial manner in which he has discharged the duties of his judicial station. . . ."

¹⁰¹Felch, "Michigan's Court of Chancery," *Mich. Pioneer and Hist. Soc., Colls.*, XXI, 329.

¹⁰²*Senate Executive Jour.*, 1843, pp. 466, 467, 468. The senate approved his nomination by a unanimous vote.

¹⁰³*Revised Statutes of 1846*, Title XXI, ch. 90, sec. 2, p. 356.

¹⁰⁴*Free Press*, June 1, 1846.

¹⁰⁵Felch, *loc. cit.*, p. 330. Farnsworth's appointment was praised by the *True Democrat*, June 4, 1846, and by the *Grand Rapids Enquirer*, June 5, 1846.

¹⁰⁶No reports of the decisions made by Chancellors Manning and Farnsworth between March 1845 and March 1847 have been published, although Governor Felch in January 1846 made the statement that the state reporter, Samuel T. Douglass, intended to print that year all the important decisions of both the supreme court and the court of chancery (Annual Message of the Governor, in *Joint Docs.*, 1846, p. 6). Previously, two volumes of chancery reports had been published: *Harrington's Chancery Reports* in 1845 (containing the opinions written by Farnsworth in the years 1836-1842) and *Walker's Chancery Reports* in 1845 (containing opinions written by Manning between April 1842 and March 1845). For a detailed account of these publications see Norton, "Unreported Michigan Supreme Court Opinions, 1836-1843," *Mich. Law Rev.*, XLII, 105-106, 110 (footnote 104).

¹⁰⁷*Free Press*, March 1, 1847.

years, and from 1849 until his death on March 24, 1877, he held the presidency of the Detroit Savings Bank.¹⁰⁸

Charles W. Whipple

One of the important changes in the organization of the Michigan superior courts introduced by the general revision of the statutes in 1838 was the increase in the number of judicial circuits and justices of the supreme court from three to four. The new fourth circuit was composed of counties drawn from all three of the former circuits plus two newly organized counties, and the new term of the supreme court was to be held in the city of Pontiac.¹⁰⁹ Although agitation for the appointment of a fourth justice began soon after it had been authorized by the legislature,¹¹⁰ Governor Mason delayed making a selection for several months. Origin D. Richardson was announced as a candidate as early as January 1838,¹¹¹ and somewhat later petitions were circulated in favor of Charles W. Whipple.¹¹² One of the ablest of the contemporary attorneys, Alexander D. Fraser of the Whig party, was willing to support Whipple (a Democrat) because he said that Whipple would be the least undesirable of the "choice of evils" available, and because it might serve to "... defeat the machination of men less competent in every point of view and who are much more obnoxious than the late speaker."¹¹³ Benjamin F. H. Witherell (who was to become a supreme court member for a few months in 1857), was also a candidate, but his chances

¹⁰⁸*Michigan Biographies*, I, 282.

¹⁰⁹For the new arrangement of circuits see *Revised Statutes of 1838*, Part III, Title I, Ch. 3, Sec. 3, p. 381, or Norton, *op cit.*, Table IV, Appendix, p. 6. In 1837 an attempt had been made to add a fourth judicial circuit, but the house committee on the judiciary had reported that it was inexpedient to do so. *House Jour.*, 1837, pp. 43, 66.

¹¹⁰As a matter of fact, even before the *Revised Statutes of 1838* went into effect a meeting had been held in Pontiac to consider the propriety of recommending to the Governor "... the appointment of a suitable person (who shall be a resident of the north) to the office of Presiding Judge of this circuit." *Pontiac Courier*, Jan. 19, 1838.

¹¹¹*Ibid.*, Jan. 26, 1838.

¹¹²A. D. Fraser wrote to W. Woodbridge that he had intended to call on Woodbridge to get his signature to such a petition, but he understood that the appointment already had been promised to Whipple and that the governor wished only to acquire an expression of opinion from some of the older attorneys upon the subject. Detroit, Aug. 22, 1838, Woodbridge Papers, Burton Hist. Coll.

¹¹³*Ibid.* However, Fraser did think that Whipple's ambition would overcome his indolence to such an extent that he would acquit himself well on the bench.

were diminished because of the contention that he was "too recently a Whig."¹¹⁴ Richardson was accused of having employed men to circulate petitions for his candidacy who obtained signatures by falsely asserting that Whipple did not want the office; this was countered by the claim that the bar unanimously approved Whipple and opposed Richardson, both members of the same party.¹¹⁵ It was not until April 15, 1839, that Governor Mason finally nominated Whipple to be asso-



CHARLES WHIPPLE

ciate justice of the supreme court and judge of the fourth circuit. The senate two days later confirmed the appointment by a vote of twelve to two.¹¹⁶

Charles W. Whipple was born at Fort Wayne, Indiana, in 1806. He was the son of Major John W. Whipple, a well-known officer who had left Detroit in 1805 after several years' residence there. The exact date when the Whipples returned

¹¹⁴*Pontiac Courier*, Dec. 21, 1838.

¹¹⁵*Ibid.*, Jan. 11, 1839.

¹¹⁶*Senate Executive Jour.*, 1839, pp. 563, 565.

to Michigan is not certain, but there is evidence that during the War of 1812 they were again living in Detroit. In 1822 Charles W. Whipple entered the United States Military Academy at West Point, from which he was expelled five years later because of certain scholastic and military deficiencies. After studying law in Detroit in the office of Alexander D. Fraser, he was admitted to practice in the territorial supreme court in 1829, and in subsequent years appeared as counsel in nearly twenty cases before that court. In 1828 he was appointed a master in chancery for Wayne County, an office he held until 1834 despite considerable criticism because of his youth and lack of experience.¹¹⁷ Whipple formed a legal partnership with James A. Van Dyke in 1835 and 1836.¹¹⁸

Very active politically and a staunch supporter of the Mason faction of the Democratic party, Whipple upheld the people's right to put into operation a state government without Congressional sanction. The delegates to the constitutional convention of 1835 appointed him one of their two secretaries,¹¹⁹ and he was elected to the state house of representatives in 1835 and 1836, where he was a member of the committee on the judiciary¹²⁰ and was later selected as speaker of the house. Whipple was on the committee of five Democrats which recommended calling a second convention in December 1836 to ratify the terms specified by Congress for admission to the Union.¹²¹ In 1837 the University of Michigan Board of Regents elected him their secretary,¹²² and in the same year the Democrats nominated him as their candidate for supervisor in Wayne County.¹²³ Governor Mason on January 15, 1838, named him one of the three state banking commissioners, but the senate

¹¹⁷Biographical sketches of Whipple from which the above has been summarized are the following: W. W. Blume, ed., *Transactions of the Supreme Court of the Territory of Michigan, 1825-1836*, I, p. 37; H. A. Chaney, "The Supreme Court of Michigan," *The Green Bag*, II, 381; Dwight Goss, "The Bench and Bar of Kent County," *Mich. Pioneer and Hist. Soc., Colls.*, XXXV, 86; *Michigan Biographies*, II, 433; Reed, ed., *Bench and Bar of Michigan*, p. 13; R. B. Ross, *The Early Bench and Bar of Detroit*, pp. 216-217; "State Judges," 4 *Mich.* 23-24.

¹¹⁸See their legal card in the *Free Press* during those years.

¹¹⁹*Journal of the Proceedings of the Convention to Form a Constitution for the State of Michigan . . . 1835* (S. McKnight, Detroit, 1835), p. 10.

¹²⁰See *House Jour.*, 1835-1836, pp. 3, 19, 307, and the *Free Press*, Nov. 29, 1836.

¹²¹*Free Press*, Nov. 15, 1836 and the *Michigan Argus*, Nov. 17, 1836.

¹²²*Regents Proceedings, University of Michigan, 1837-1864*, pp. 1, 3.

¹²³*Free Press*, March 27, 1837.

by a tie vote (seven to seven) refused to ratify the nomination.¹²⁴ If it had been approved he might not have received the appointment to the supreme court a year later.

Whipple served on the Michigan bench for over fifteen years. Near the expiration of his first seven year term, Governor Felch in March 1846 nominated him for another full term (beginning on April 17, 1846) and this time it was approved unanimously by the senate.¹²⁵ After Ransom left the court at the beginning of 1848 to become governor, he raised Whipple to the chief justiceship and, at the same time, switched him from the fourth to the third judicial circuit.¹²⁶ The elevation of Whipple should not have been unexpected. As Ransom himself pointed out, on the only two previous occasions in the history of the state that this position had been vacant, the senior associate justices (Morell and Ransom) had been named chief justice; thus Ransom in choosing Whipple was but following established precedent.¹²⁷

On the whole much satisfaction was expressed with this choice,¹²⁸ but a storm of criticism arose over Whipple's transfer from the fourth circuit, where he had presided since 1839, to the third circuit. In the senate a futile effort was made to separate, for purposes of ratification, his appointment as chief justice from his assignment to the third circuit; a motion to that effect having been decided out of order, the nomination was approved twelve to seven.¹²⁹ Some resentment was noticeable in the third circuit over the fact that the governor, who had presided himself in the third circuit for over eleven years,

¹²⁴*Senate Executive Jour.*, 1838, pp. 3, 5, 6.

¹²⁵*Ibid.*, 1846, pp. 22-23.

¹²⁶*Ibid.*, 1848, pp. 698, 699. The nomination was not sent to the senate until February 21. In the interim there were rumors to the effect that Ransom was hampered in his choice by pre-election pledges, and that the supreme court was waiting for the appointment before disposing its business (*Grand River Eagle*, Jan. 28 and Feb. 4, 1848). The Democrats, however, explained the postponement on the grounds that Ransom was waiting for action on the bill to alter the judicial system then pending in the legislature (*Kalamazoo Gazette*, Jan. 28, 1848).

¹²⁷E. Ransom to L. Lyon, Feb. 27, 1848, Lyon Letters, W. L. Clements Library.

¹²⁸For instance, it was praised by the *Free Press*, Feb. 26 and March 4, 1848, and by the *Grand River Eagle*, March 3, 1848.

¹²⁹*Senate Executive Jour.*, 1848 pp. 701, 702, 705. The decision by the president of the senate that the motion was out of order was supported, 11-9. The nomination was approved on Feb. 23, a date erroneously cited as March 2 in 1 Mich. 35.

had not selected a person who was a resident within that area, the implication being that he did not believe there was a lawyer in the several counties of the third circuit who was sufficiently competent to occupy a place on the bench.¹³⁰

As a result of the adoption in 1849 of a constitutional amendment substituting popular election at large for gubernatorial appointment of supreme court justices, the first election for higher judicial officers was held in Michigan in November 1850. Whipple was one of the two justices who, because their terms had not expired, did not have to stand for election at that time. The new state constitution of 1850 (as a delegate to the convention which drew up the new document Whipple was a very active participant in the debates of that body, despite his official judicial position) retained the principle of popularly elected state officers, but a major change was made in the system established by the 1849 amendment: election from the state as a whole was abandoned in favor of a plan whereby the state was divided into eight judicial districts, with one justice to be chosen by the electorate of each district. In the first election held under the new constitution on the first Monday in April 1851, Whipple experienced little difficulty in winning over his Whig opponent in the second circuit, Samuel J. M. Hammond.¹³¹

When the newly-elected supreme court assembled at Detroit on January 6, 1852, for its first term under the revised constitution, a resolution (offered by Whipple) was adopted to the effect that the act of reorganization passed by the legislature in 1851 had contemplated rotation every two years in the office of presiding judge.¹³² Whipple requested the other members not to consider him for the position since he had already been chief justice for more than two years. Justice Warner

¹³⁰*Kalamazoo Gazette*, March 3, 1848. An editorial in this Democratic paper said that Ransom had directly disregarded the wishes of the bar and of the people in the third circuit.

¹³¹For a detailed analysis of these events see Norton, "Michigan's First Supreme Court Elections, 1850-1851," in the *Papers of the Michigan Academy of Science, Arts and Letters*. XXIX. 507-524.

¹³²Actually, the law merely stated that the justices should ballot every two years for one of their number to preside, and did not specifically prohibit a presiding judge serving twice in succession. See *Mich. Acts*, 1851, No. 93, sec. 1, p. 106.

Wing, who had been in office since 1845, was thereupon unanimously elected presiding judge, and resolutions of appreciation for Whipple's past services were approved.¹³³

On October 25, 1855, an illness which for several years had prevented Justice Whipple from fully performing his judicial duties¹³⁴ caused his death.¹³⁵ Whipple had been on the bench since 1839, the longest service of any member of the supreme court between 1836 and 1858. With the exception of the last few years he was very regular in attending court sessions.¹³⁶ During his long career he delivered more majority opinions than any of his brethren, seventy-seven of which are still extant in manuscript or printed form.¹³⁷

Moreover, there is no doubt that he was the outstanding, if not the ablest, justice of the whole period, and that his philosophy tended to dominate the court more than that of any other member. His opinions were noteworthy for their detailed analysis and full treatment given to all questions, while his style of writing was consistently good and sometimes excellent. Even a cursory examination of the reports will reveal that during his incumbency the opinions in a majority of the most important cases were written by Whipple. One critic has stated that "For clearness and force, his opinions . . . have scarcely ever been surpassed."¹³⁸ Many contemporary sources testify to the ability, impartiality, judiciousness and promptitude he displayed while presiding over the various

¹³³These proceedings are in the supreme court Journal, 1st circ., II, 175-179. They were also printed in the *Free Press*, Jan. 9, 1852, and in 2 Mich. 291-293.

¹³⁴Since 1850 he had been forced by ill health on several occasions not to hold various sessions of circuit court. See the *American Citizen*, Aug. 28, 1850; *Coldwater Sentinel*, Oct. 1, 1852, and March 24, 1854; *Michigan Argus*, May 25, 1854; *Kalamazoo Gazette*, June 30, July 7, 1854, and Oct. 12, 1855; *Free Press*, March 18, 1854, and Sept. 30, 1855.

¹³⁵*Free Press*, Oct. 26, 1855.

¹³⁶For instance he missed only 23 of the total of 259 days the court was in session between 1847 and 1851. In the next four years he was absent 53 times out of 201 session days (compiled from the Journals).

¹³⁷Four manuscript opinions written before 1843 by Whipple were published in 1945 for the first time. See note 27 above. For statistics on Whipple's opinions arranged by years see Norton, *op. cit.*, Table XXI, Appendix, p. 30. Newspaper and other references to nine opinions supposedly delivered by Whipple that are not known to exist have been found. *Ibid.*, Table XXIII, Appendix, p. 32.

¹³⁸4 Mich. 23-24.

circuit courts.¹³⁹ Expressions of regret on his death were made by the organs of both parties; apparently all conceded that his loss was a serious blow to the state judiciary.¹⁴⁰ The resolutions which were adopted by the Detroit bar said in part:

Whether viewed as a private citizen, friend & neighbor, as a member of the legal Profession, as a presiding officer in the Chamber of Legislation, as a Judge in the trial of causes, or as the highest judicial functionary of the State, we have ever recognized in the deceased the true & kind hearted friend, the courteous gentleman, the scholar of enlightened & liberal mind, the sound jurist & the honest man.¹⁴¹

Alpheus Felch

When Chief Justice Fletcher resigned in February 1842, the two most likely applicants for the vacancy were Warner Wing and Alpheus Felch, both attorneys living in the city of Monroe. A drive to secure the appointment of the former was begun even before Fletcher had officially announced his retirement, while the chief justice was reported to have openly favored selection of the latter.¹⁴² One might suppose that Felch was practically eliminated as a candidate for the bench when he was nominated and approved as state auditor-general on February 8, 1842.¹⁴³ Nevertheless, it appears that even after accepting this office Felch had not given up hope of succeeding

¹³⁹See the *Michigan State Journal*, July 24, 1839; *Free Press*, Aug. 5, 1839, and June 2, 1841; *Coldwater Sentinel*, May 7 and July 23, 1852; *Grand Rapids Enquirer*, May 22, 1846 and March 8, 1848. For unfavorable comment on Whipple see the *Oakland Gazette*, April 3, 1844, and the letter of H. N. Walker to E. Bissell, July 26, 1847, Walker, Douglass, and Campbell Letterpress Book, VIII, Mich. Hist. Colls.

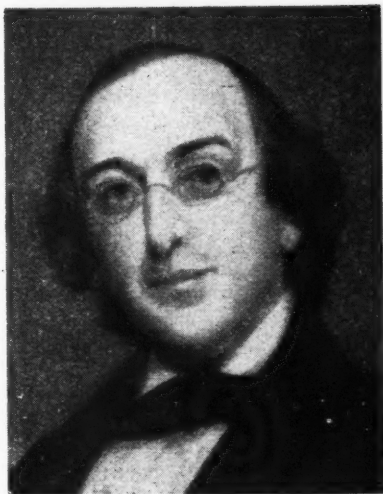
¹⁴⁰See the *Free Press*, Oct. 26, 1855; *Ann Arbor Journal*, Oct. 31, 1855; *Michigan Expositor*, Nov. 3, 1855; *Michigan Argus*, Nov. 3, 1855.

¹⁴¹Sup. Ct. Journal, 1st circ., II, 508. A copy of these resolutions can be found among the miscellaneous files of the supreme court.

¹⁴²N. S. Howe to A. Felch, Dec. 25, 1841, Felch Papers, Burton Hist. Coll.

¹⁴³*Senate Executive Jour.*, 1842, p. 307. Kinsley S. Bingham had written Felch on Feb. 7, informing him that he would be appointed auditor-general and urging him to accept the position (Feb. 7, 1842, Felch Papers, Burton Hist. Coll.), but William Greenly the following day asserted that Felch had been appointed auditor-general through the scheming of an unnamed person who was anxious to get Felch out of the way for the office of justice of the supreme court or chancellor. As a consequence Greenly advised Felch to decline the proffered post (Feb. 8, 1842, Felch Papers, Burton Hist. Coll.). Greenly felt certain that Felch could get either the chancellorship or the justiceship of the supreme court.

Fletcher.¹⁴⁴ Governor Barry's neglect in not making the appointment to the court while the legislature was still in session aroused considerable censure from the press. In defense it was explained that notice of Fletcher's resignation had not been received until four days prior to the legislature's adjournment, leaving too short a time to obtain the preferences of the bar and of other interested people, and it was claimed



ALPHEUS FELCH

further that the appointment could not be made until a vacancy actually existed.¹⁴⁵ Whether or not the latter contention was valid, the governor waited until April 1, 1842 (the day on which Fletcher's resignation became effective), before advancing

¹⁴⁴He wrote to his wife in March that they could not definitely decide to establish a home in Detroit yet" . . . for we cannot tell what will come the first of next month—If the Gov. should offer me another position at that time, we shall have no need of arrangements to live here! I know nothing of his determination, nor do I believe that he has yet determined himself." A. Felch to his wife, March 11, 1842, Felch Papers, Mich. Hist. Colls.

¹⁴⁵*Free Press*, March 17, 1842. That the appointment was closely integrated with politics appears evident from a letter written by Charles Stuart of Kalamazoo to Felch, March 1, 1842, Felch Papers, Burton Hist. Coll.

ing Associate Justice Morell to the chief justiceship and naming Alpheus Felch associate justice of the supreme court and judge of the second circuit.¹⁴⁶

Alpheus Felch was born in 1804 at Limerick, Maine. Although he was left an orphan while still very young, it was his fortune to be provided with an excellent education by a guardian. After attending academies at Limerick, Maine, Exeter, New Hampshire, and Fryeburg, Maine, and after teaching school for a short time, he matriculated at Bowdoin College in 1823 from which he was graduated four years later. He studied law in the offices of attorneys in Fryeburg for two years and in Bangor for one year, and in 1830 was admitted to the bar in Maine. For a while he was engaged in the legal profession at Houlton, Maine, and was allowed to practice before the Maine Supreme Court in 1833. However, because of poor health and the severity of the northern climate, he decided in the same year to seek a more suitable location, choosing Mississippi for his new home. Proceeding by way of Detroit and Monroe, Michigan, to Cincinnati, an attack of cholera at the latter place induced him to return to Monroe where he entered the law office of Judge Wolcott Lawrence.¹⁴⁷

Felch quickly attained popularity in his adopted state. He was elected village attorney of Monroe in 1834 and a member of the first state legislature in 1835, where he was appointed to the committee on the judiciary.¹⁴⁸ Re-elected to the house

¹⁴⁶*Senate Docs.*, 1842, No. 7, p. 3; *Free Press*, April 2, 1842. Randolph Manning was at the same time appointed chancellor to succeed Elon Farnsworth, resigned.

¹⁴⁷Biographical sketches of Felch, from which the above has been summarized, are the following: *American Biographical History of Eminent and Self-Made Men: Representative Men of Michigan*, Part II, pp. 35-36; Howell, *Nisi Prius Cases*, p. 306; J. M. Bulkley, *History of Monroe County, Michigan* (Chicago, 1913), pp. 257-258; R. W. Butterfield, "Michigan Jurists—Hon. Alpheus Felch," *Mag. of West. Hist.*, IV, 689-692; H. A. Chaney, "The Supreme Court of Michigan," *The Green Bag*, II, 381; *Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, II, 427; *Cyclopedia of Michigan*, pp. 220-222; A. Hyma, in *Dictionary of American Biography*, VI, 313-314; *Governors of the State of Michigan*, pp. 59-72; C. B. Grant, "Life and Character of Alpheus Felch," *Mich. Pioneer and Hist. Soc., Colls.*, XXVIII, 94-104; *Michigan Biographies*, I, 284; *Proceedings at the Banquet . . . September 28, 1894 . . . in Honor of Hon. Alpheus Felch upon . . . His Nineteenth Birthday* (Ann Arbor, 1894, 41 pp.), p. 10; H. Randall, "Alpheus Felch: An Appreciation," *Mich. Hist. Mag.*, X, 157-174; Reed, ed., *Bench and Bar of Michigan*, pp. 7, 26, 161-162; T. E. Wing, ed., *History of Monroe County, Michigan*, N. Y., 1890), pp. 248-249; remarks in 100 Mich. xxxi-xliii and in 106 Mich. xxxiii-xliv. The original certificates of Felch's admittance to the bar in 1830 and to the supreme court of Maine in 1830 are in the Felch Papers, Mich. Hist. Colls.

¹⁴⁸*House Jour.*, 1835-1836, pp. 3, 19, 294.

of representatives in 1836,¹⁴⁹ he displayed qualities in the next two years which led to his appointment in 1838 as one of the three state banking commissioners.¹⁵⁰ The task of inspecting banks within his district, made especially difficult because of the unsound condition of the "wild-cat" banks and the deceptive practices employed by most of them, was ably and conscientiously performed by Felch until he resigned the position in 1839.¹⁵¹ In 1840 he was nominated for representative in Congress by the Democrats,¹⁵² but the general anti-Democratic reaction of that year foredoomed his defeat. He resumed private practice in Monroe until February 8, 1842, when, as explained above, he was appointed auditor-general. His selection for the bench less than two months later was received throughout the state generally with expressions of satisfaction.¹⁵³ During the rest of the year 1842 Felch sat in the supreme court and held circuit courts¹⁵⁴ without having been confirmed by the senate.¹⁵⁵ On January 17, 1843, he was at last formally nominated by the governor and approved by the senate,¹⁵⁶ but only for the remainder of Fletcher's term which would expire on July 18 of the same year. On March 8, 1843, he was appointed to the same office for a full seven year term.¹⁵⁷

¹⁴⁹*Free Press*, Nov. 29, 1836.

¹⁵⁰*Senate Executive Jour.*, 1838, pp. 11, 12.

¹⁵¹Many letters written by Felch, describing the hardships of journeying about the country as banking commissioner and the difficulties of inspecting the banks, may be found in the Felch Papers located both in the Burton Hist. Coll. Det. Pub. Lib., and in the Mich. Hist. Colls., Univ. of Mich. The reports of the banking commissioners were published in the state documents and in the various newspapers of the state. Felch was highly praised by contemporaries for the efficient and faithful way he had completed his arduous and responsible tasks. *Free Press*, April 2, 1839.

¹⁵²*Free Press*, June 29, 1840.

¹⁵³See the *Pontiac Jacksonian*, April 8, 1842; *Kalamazoo Gazette*, April 8, 1842; *Free Press*, April 12, 1842 (quoting the *Monroe Advocate*); *Michigan State Journal*, April 13, 1842. Justice Ransom wrote Felch congratulating him on his appointment and welcoming him to the supreme court. April 12, 1842, Felch Papers, Burton Hist. Coll.

¹⁵⁴See the Journals of the supreme court and of the various circuit courts, and also the *Michigan State Journal*, May 18, 1842.

¹⁵⁵In April 1842 he wrote to his wife that if his appointment had not been of a temporary nature, he would move from Monroe to a more conveniently located town; but, as the office was of short duration, they must wait for future developments. April 12, 1842, Felch Papers, Mich. Hist. Colls.

¹⁵⁶*Senate Executive Jour.*, 1843, p. 438. His commission as justice, issued from the secretary of state's office, was dated Jan. 21, 1843. It can be found under that date in the Felch Papers, Burton Hist. Coll.

¹⁵⁷*Senate Executive Jour.*, 1843, p. 466. The senate unanimously approved the nomination.

Justice Felch seems never to have been satisfied with his position on the bench. Early in 1844 he complained of the constant toil and of the many months which had to be spent away from home, and he stated that if it were not absolutely necessary he would resign and would return to private practice.¹⁵⁸ Thus, when opportunities for improving his situation arose, Felch was interested. After Polk had been elected President in the fall of 1844 the Democrats of Detroit began to agitate for the appointment of successors to the various United States officers in that city. At the same time Felch was mentioned for and urged to accept the district attorneyship, the opinion being expressed that such a nomination could be obtained from President Tyler before Polk assumed office.¹⁵⁹ Although Felch was amenable to the proposition, he cautiously refused to allow his name to be presented for the position of United States attorney until the incoming Democratic administration had been installed in March 1845.¹⁶⁰ Even then he did not receive the appointment. However, he was nominated for governor the following summer by the Democratic state convention.¹⁶¹

Justice Whipple, in congratulating Felch on this nomination, said that for some time he had been recommending him as a candidate and predicting his selection to influential people.¹⁶² What is more significant for this study, Whipple ex-

¹⁵⁸A. Felch to his wife, Jan. 21, 1844, Felch Papers, Mich. Hist. Colls. See also the series of letters written to Felch by his wife which vividly discloses the dissatisfaction of both of them with his continued absence from home because of judicial duties (Nov. 23, 1843; Feb. 27 and April 12, 1844, in *ibid.*). A year later he was still discouraged over the continued labor away from home and the small compensation received. A. Felch to his wife, Jan. 13, 1845, *ibid.*

¹⁵⁹Wm. Hale to A. Felch, Oct. 11, 1844, *ibid.*

¹⁶⁰A. Felch to W. Hale, Nov. 16, 1844, *ibid.* Felch said that although in many ways he preferred the position on the bench, he would accept a change to that of district attorney, but that he could not risk the chance of getting only a temporary appointment.

¹⁶¹*Free Press*, Aug. 29, 1845. In the convention Felch did not receive a majority until the fifth ballot, after Governor Barry's name had been withdrawn. On the first four ballots Barry had received over 40 votes each time while Felch had received 6 on the first, 15 on the second, 36 on the third, and 29 on the fourth. On the first ballot four other candidates had received more than Felch. On the fifth ballot Barry's support was thrown to Felch and he received 59 votes. Following a *viva voce* vote at which he was given 80 out of a total of 110 votes, Felch was declared unanimously nominated. See the proceedings of the convention in the *Michigan Argus*, Sept. 2, 1845. The Washtenaw County Democratic Convention previously had nominated James Kingsley for governor by a big margin over Felch and Edward Mundy. *Ibid.*, July 16, 1845.

¹⁶²C. W. Whipple to A. Felch, Sept. 3, 1845, Felch Papers, Burton Hist. Coll.

pressed the view that Felch was fortunate to leave the bench and hoped that soon he himself might do likewise:

There is no motive for remaining on the bench: the salary is so small, the expenses so great, and the absence from home, & consequent deprivation of domestic happiness so constant, that no motive is left for remaining. So soon as I can, I shall certainly follow your example: I cannot endure poverty any longer & and the prospect, in the event of death, of leaving my family penniless.¹⁶³

When accepting the nomination for governor Felch gave no hint of discontent with his judicial post; to the contrary he wrote that the governorship had neither been "solicited nor desired" by him:

Already occupying a high judicial station, the labors of which, though arduous, are more congenial to my habits and my tastes than those of the office for which the convention has selected me as a candidate, I had fondly hoped to remain in that position until the cares and labors of all public stations should be resigned by me for the more agreeable duties of private life.¹⁶⁴

As on other similar occasions, the question arose as to whether or not Felch should withdraw from the supreme court before the election for governor was held. Letters had been sent to certain attorneys in Jackson urging that Edward Mundy be selected to replace Felch, but many members of the bar of Jackson signed a petition sent to the latter requesting and advising him not to resign the justiceship until it was absolutely necessary to do so.¹⁶⁵ Surprisingly enough some of Felch's political opponents advised the same course of action,¹⁶⁶ and he obliged both sides by remaining on the bench.

¹⁶³*Ibid.* Three months earlier he had written that he had two or three important opinions to prepare for the supreme court at Kalamazoo, but that he was so busy and so worn out that "... God only knows whether I shall be able to prepare them before leaving." C. W. Whipple to A. Felch, June 14, 1845. *ibid.* As we have seen, in spite of his attitude Whipple continued to serve on the supreme court until his death ten years later.

¹⁶⁴Letter accepting the nomination, printed in *Free Press*, Sept. 20, 1845.

¹⁶⁵G. T. Gridley to A. Felch, Sept. 2, 1845, Felch Papers, Burton Hist. Coll. Gridley said that they wished to continue association with Felch as long as possible, that if he resigned immediately there would be too much haste in filling the post, and that Felch should complete as much of the business which had been submitted to him as possible.

¹⁶⁶*Michigan State Journal*, Sept. 4, 1845.

As might be expected Democratic papers were full of praise for the accomplishments of their gubernatorial candidate.¹⁶⁷ Even the Whig organs had less disparagement and criticism for Felch than they ordinarily displayed for their adversary in a major political campaign.¹⁶⁸ Felch was victorious in the statewide election, but it is interesting to note that he failed to carry his home county, Washtenaw.¹⁶⁹ He did not retire from the bench until December first, nearly three weeks after the election.¹⁷⁰

During his less than four years on the supreme court Felch had delivered more opinions that are now extant than any of his contemporary brother justices during the same period.¹⁷¹ It is true that many of the decisions which were assigned to him for writing involved comparatively minor points;¹⁷² however, several of his opinions were on important questions and necessitated extensive research.¹⁷³ His style was usually concise, direct, and forceful. His longest opinions never reached the great length which frequently characterized those of Justices Ransom or Whipple. The principles established in at least one of Felch's opinions were severely criticised in later decisions of the Michigan Supreme Court, but apparently only

¹⁶⁷See the many articles, editorials and communications in the *Free Press*, and in the *Michigan Argus*, for Sept., Oct., and Nov., 1845.

¹⁶⁸Felch was said by a Whig newspaper to be "personally unexceptionable," but he was charged with being the "lawyer's man," and thus opposed to any reform in the law (*Michigan State Journal*, Sept. 4, and 18, 1845). He was censured also for increasing the compensation of the prosecuting attorney of Washtenaw County from \$400 to \$600 on an appeal from the board of supervisors (*ibid.*, Sept. 24, 1845). The reply of Felch to questions asked him about his stand on executive patronage, public salaries, judicial reform, veto power of the governor, and sale of the public works can be found in the *Michigan Argus*, Oct. 7, 1845.

¹⁶⁹*Ibid.*, Nov. 11, 1845.

¹⁷⁰*Oakland Gazette*, Dec. 3, 1845.

¹⁷¹Felch delivered a total of 24 opinions known to be extant. See Norton, *op. cit.* Table XXI, Appendix, p. 30. He was present at 116 of 130 days that the supreme court was in session (except for the second circuit, where the Journal is not available) between 1843 and 1846 (compiled from the Journals of the supreme court).

¹⁷²See *Booth v. McQueen*, 1 Doug. 41 (1843); *Byrne v. Beeson*, 1 Doug. 179 (1843); *Hasey v. White Pigeon Beet Sugar Co.*, 1 Doug. 193 (1843); *Rood v. Jones*, 1 Doug. 188 (1843); *Pullen v. People*, 1 Doug. 48 (1843); *Howard v. Rockwell*, 1 Doug. 315 (1844); *Jones v. Palmer*, 1 Doug. 379 (1844); *Atwater v. Streets*, 1 Doug. 455 (1844); *Prentiss and Frost v. Spalding*, 2 Doug. 84 (1845); *Prentiss v. Webster et al.*, 2 Doug. 5 (1845); *Scales v. Griffin*, 2 Doug. 54 (1845).

¹⁷³See *Cahill et al v. Kalamazoo Mutual Insurance Co.*, 2 Doug. 124 (1845); *Kirby v. Ingersoll*, 1 Doug. 477 (1844); *Bank of Michigan v. Niles*, 1 Doug. 401 (1844).

one of his decisions has been directly overruled.¹⁷⁴ If he had not decided to seek success in other fields Alpheus Felch might have become a distinguished jurist. He himself is reputed to have stated that his judicial station had been the most satisfactory to himself of all his many offices.¹⁷⁵ High tribute to Felch's ability and deportment as a judge has been paid him by two later members of the supreme court,¹⁷⁶ and contemporary evidence substantially supports their views.¹⁷⁷

After retiring from the bench Felch held several important offices. He was successively governor of Michigan (1845-1847), United States Senator (1847-1853), and one of the commissioners to settle the land claims in California made under the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo of 1848 (1853-1856). Upon his return to Michigan in 1856 he was nominated again for governor by the Democrats,¹⁷⁸ but was defeated by Kinsley S. Bingham.¹⁷⁹ Selected twice in later years as the nominee of his party for the supreme court, he was beaten both times by the Republicans. He engaged in private practise for many years at Ann Arbor, and in 1879 was appointed to the Tappan professorship in the law school of the University of Michigan, a position he held for nearly five years. From 1888 to 1894 he was president of the Michigan State Historical Society, an organization in which he was active until his death on June 13, in 1896.¹⁸⁰

¹⁷⁴See the criticism of *People v. Tisdale*, 1 Doug. 59 (1843), by Justice Cooley in *People v. Cicott*, 16 Mich. 283 (1868), and by Justice Morse in *People v. McNeal*, 63 Mich. 299 (1886). *Platt v. Drake*, 1 Doug. 296 (1844), was overruled in *Burkham v. Trowbridge*, 9 Mich. 209 (1861).

¹⁷⁵*The Evening News* (Detroit), Sept. 27, 1894. A copy of this article is in the Felch Papers, Mich. Hist. Colls., Univ. of Mich.

¹⁷⁶See T. M. Cooley's address in the *Proceedings at the Banquet Given by the Bar Association of Washtenaw County, September 28, 1894, in Honor of Hon. Alpheus Felch*, pp. 17-18, and C. B. Grant, "Life and Character of Alpheus Felch," Mich. Pioneer and Hist. Soc., *Colls.*, XXVIII pp. 94-104.

¹⁷⁷Felch was modest and unassuming. When holding court at Marshall he wrote the following to his wife: "I almost tremble to think how few qualifications I have for the duties and responsibilities devolved upon me, especially when I consider how much less my own practice and experience and learning are than those of many who appear before me at the Bar." (April 30, 1843, Felch Papers, Mich. Hist. Colls.) The only serious charge of improper conduct on the part of Felch that has been discovered was the imputation that he had disclosed the decision of a certain case to his father-in-law before it had been publicly announced by the supreme court (C. Bruckner to W. Woodbridge, Feb. 15, 1843, Woodbridge Papers). However, there is no proof of this charge.

¹⁷⁸*Free Press*, Aug. 8, 1856; *Michigan Argus*, Aug. 8, 1856; *Ann Arbor Journal*, Aug. 13, 1856. He at first declined the nomination, but accepted when the convention gave him their unanimous vote.

¹⁷⁹The result was: Bingham, 71,688; Felch, 54,407. *Free Press*, Dec. 7, 1856.

¹⁸⁰For citations to biographical material on Felch see note 147 above.

OLD DETROIT: DRAINAGE AND LAND FORMS

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THE original small creeks that made exit into the Detroit River in the vicinity of Cadillac's Village in 1701, now downtown Detroit, took on an importance quite out of proportion to their sizes in the early history of the straits. Bloody Run, Savoyard Creek and May's Creek all reached the river between the present locations of East Grand Boulevard and West Grand Boulevard. None were more than about three miles in length, and all have been filled and graded over so that persons familiar with the street pattern and locations of buildings of our metropolis of today little suspect the locations of former streams.

History of the French, British and early American regimes alike contains numerous references to the influences of the creeks and marshes in the lives of the people. Writings abound in references to windmills along the Detroit River used for grinding grain, but little is said of mill wheels turned by these streams, several of which are known to have operated in the early days. These small streams buoyed up canoes, turned mill wheels, drained the land, formed barriers against encroachment of enemies, required bridging, became polluted nuisances and at last were filled and graded with much labor and expense.

There are few, if any, detailed maps in existence that show the area as it was when the French arrived, but from old records, land deeds and other sources it is possible to reconstruct fairly well the original drainage and landforms map. A number of writers have made attempts at this work. Silas Farmer drew a map locating early streams with reference to the street pattern in 1884.¹ The late Clarence M. Burton

1. Farmer, Silas, *History of Detroit and Michigan*. (Farmer, Detroit, 1884.)

reported on the locations of these early streams in 1922, his information being substantiated by findings in records of deeds and land transactions dating back to Cadillac.² The late George B. Catlin described and re-mapped those vanished streams in 1923.³ His information was based on old records, personal reports from "Old Detroiters" who remembered, and from close observation of the terrain as he could see it, taking into consideration the amount of filling and grading that had been done.

It is the aim here to review the past writings, add information, re-map and in general portray more clearly the nature of these early streams and the associated landforms and to show their importance in our local history.

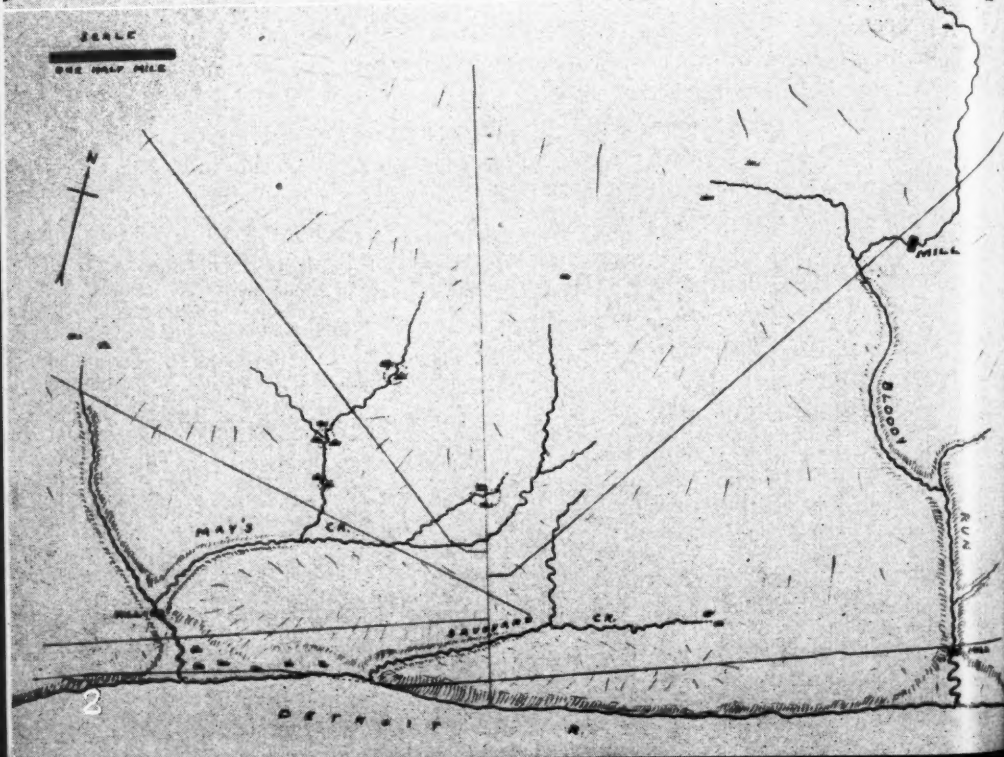
LAND SURFACE

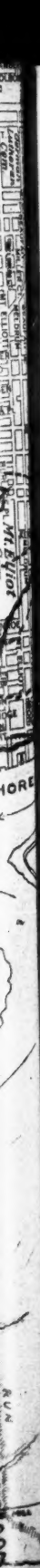
The entire region of the Lower Straits was at one time covered by waters of post-glacial lakes. As these lake waters went down to approximately the levels of the present Great Lakes, the Detroit River was formed, connecting the upper lakes with Lake Erie. Thus the land surface in the Detroit location is an old lake-bed plain.⁴ It rises in elevation as one proceeds away from the river. The soil materials consist of compact clays interspersed with sand and some gravelly material. Cadillac found it covered with a forest of elm, ash, oak, maple, cottonwood, walnut, willow and other species of trees. There were also giant pear trees, which no doubt had a trans-atlantic origin and had been planted by French missionaries or trappers who reached the locality long before Cadillac. Because of the general levelness, together with clay soil and occasional sandy places, the area back some distance from the river was poorly drained, marshes were numerous and water seeped out to form the sources of the Savoyard, Bloody Run and May's Creek. It is thus evident why former writers have been able to report that the sources of these

2. Burton, C. M., *The City of Detroit, Michigan*, 4 vols. (S. J. Clark Co., Detroit, 1922.)

3. Catlin, George B., *The Story of Detroit*. (Detroit News, Detroit, 1923.)

4. Detroit Folio, U. S. Geological Survey. (Wash., D. C., 1917.)





LEGENDS

1. The original drainage of "Old Detroit" drawn on a map of modern street plan with contour lines for the present elevations much generalized. The position of the original shore line is also shown.

(Locations of streams largely from Farmer, Burton, Catlin and others. Contour lines from U. S. Topographic Maps).

2. Landforms of "Old Detroit". A diagrammatic showing of the original river front, the locations and ravine nature of streams, the mill sites, marshes, and suggestions of land slopes.

streams were "inland in the marshes and springs." It is remarkable that in reading the history of early Detroit one finds very little reference to dried-up streams in the summer seasons as one might expect from these small drainage systems. No doubt the marshes and springs served to even the flow throughout the year. Again in reading the history of early Detroit one finds numerous references to "ravines" as applied mainly to these streams near their exits, indicative of the fact that the valleys were deepened as the streams approached their outlets. More will be said of this as each of the streams is dealt with in separate treatment.

Since the drainage under discussion was all located within the area limited by the Grand Boulevard of today, it is instructive to take note of the variety of slopes of the land surface in this area. A topographic map of the Detroit area was made by the United States Geological Survey in cooperation with the State Survey in 1905 in which a contour interval of 20 feet was used. It was revised in 1915 with but few changes in the general positions of the contour lines.⁵ A more recent contour map by the U.S. Survey in cooperation with the State Highway Department was published in 1940 using 5 feet as the interval.⁶ Of course this map brings out more detail and emphasizes changes wrought by man as is evidenced, for instance, by lines which follow streets for considerable distances, or numerous cases where a line surrounds a block. If one draws in these contour lines on a modern street plan, and generalizes for the minor details, the same general slopes and varieties of surface are shown as on the original survey maps. (Fig. 1.) The surface of the Detroit River at the foot of Woodward Avenue has a mean elevation of approximately 575 feet above sea level. The 580 contour line follows the shore so closely its existence on the map is difficult to detect. An elongated island-like area of over 600 feet elevation is located along Jefferson Avenue between Cass and Riopelle streets. A

5. Detroit Folio, U. S. S. Geological Survey. (Wash. D. C., 1917.)

6. Detroit Quadrangle, Michigan; Preliminary Edition, 1940. (U. S. Dept. of Int. Geological Survey Division in cooperation with the Michigan State Highway Dept. Washington, D. C., 1940.)

high peninsula-like elevation of over 600 feet extends westward from Woodward Avenue along Fort, Porter and Abbott streets to Tenth Street. Otherwise the line of 600 feet elevation parallels the Detroit River and is located ten or more blocks inland. A considerable area of over 620 feet elevation lies to the north along Woodward Avenue and east of it. The highest elevation noted on this most recent authentic map is 634 feet above sea level, approximately located at Hastings and Medbury streets.*

It is a matter of historical record that man has filled in the beds of former streams, graded the surface for placing the streets and for arranging building sites and has even extended the river front. Sewers now provide for the run-off that was at one time cared for by the early streams. However, the general landslopes in the area within Grand Boulevard have not been changed. Generally high land is found to the north and east of Woodward Avenue. Jefferson Avenue from Cass to Riopelle is still noticeably higher than the surroundings. Savoyard Creek flowed westward, crossing Woodward Avenue at Congress and crossing Griswold just below Congress. A view looking down either Woodward or Griswold from Fort Street today shows a decided low place where the Savoyard flowed. If one takes note of the height of land as of today at Fifth and Abbott Street, or at Third Avenue and Howard, and extending westward of either of these locations for several blocks, it is obvious that no filling and grading on the part of man could account for the elevation. It is largely the original landform and slope that is shown here. Thus to a limited extent one may locate the original streams by observing present day slopes and continuous low places. After a considerable amount of observation and checking of elevations as found today, it is noted that the reported locations of former streams fit into the low places remarkably well.⁷ Also, when contour lines from the government maps

*Note: The elevation of the Detroit River is 575 feet. The highest elevation within Grand Boulevard is 634 feet, or 69 feet higher than the river.

7. See Maps: Catlin, *Story of Detroit*, p. 23, and Farmer, *History of Detroit and Michigan*, p. 9.

are drawn on a map of modern street plan and then on the same street plan is traced the locations of former streams, a fairly close agreement with respect to slopes is shown. (Fig. 1.) The rule that "contour lines bend up-stream when crossing the drainage line" is obeyed. Thus one is forced to conclude that the original locations of streams have been fairly well shown on former maps by Farmer and by Catlin, and in descriptions by Burton, though none of these authors gave a complete mapping of all the streams in question. By noting locations given for these former streams, together with the contour lines on a map of modern street plan, one is led to a fuller appreciation of the nature of the original landscape.

THE SAVOYARD

The Savoyard (Xavier) Creek seems to have derived its name from an early settler on its banks who had come from the Department of Savoie in France. On some early maps it was called Ruisseau de Rurtus and on others "Branch of the Huron". Though frequently dignified by the title "River", it was but one and one-fourth miles in length, thus being the shortest of the three streams which entered the straits within the limits of the present Grand Boulevard. It had its origin in a willow swamp at about the present location of Congress and Riopelle streets, and flowed westward along the former street and slightly to the north of it, through the present lower Cadillac Square, crossed Woodward Avenue at Congress, continued westward just below Congress, and made exit into the Detroit River at Fourth Street. A small tributary came from beyond Gratiot Avenue at the north, leading southward along Brush and Bates Streets to join the main Savoyard in the vicinity of lower Cadillac Square. (Fig. 1.)

In common with Bloody Run and May's Creek seemingly conflicting reports are given concerning the exact nature of all of these streams. Many references may be found which give the impression of meandering, stagnation and slow flow, while likewise frequent mention is made of "ravines", which of course suggests just the opposite. All of the facts seem to point to

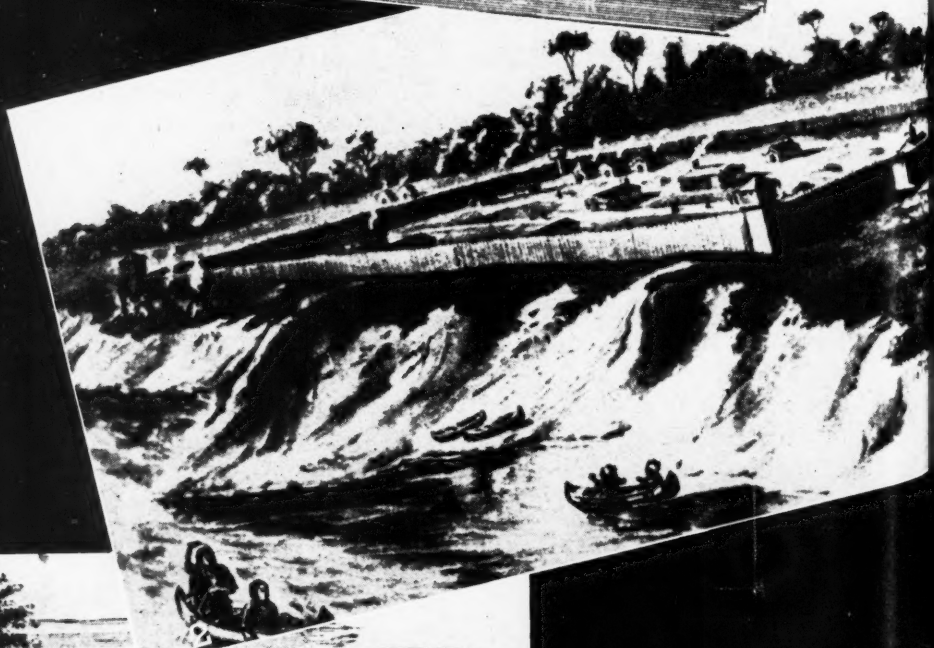
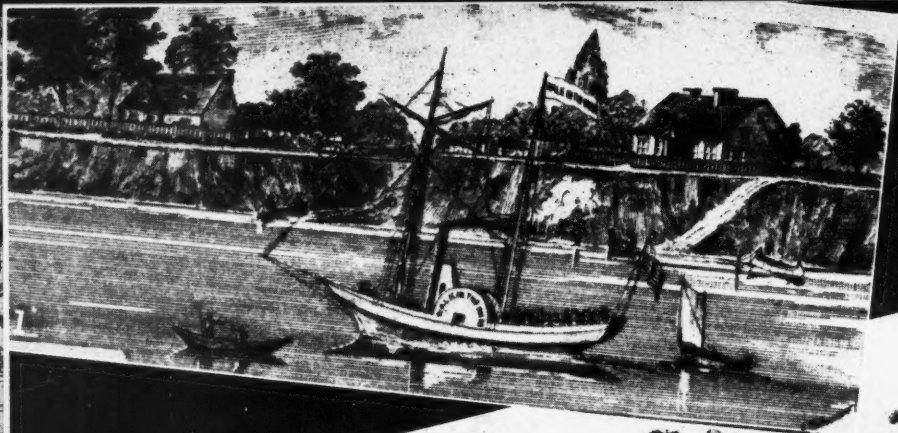
a ravine-like development of the valleys of these streams in their lower courses, while the sources and upper parts of the drainage systems were winding and perhaps somewhat stagnant. The source of the Savoyard in the "willow swamp" referred to above was probably at an elevation of about 595 feet above sea level. If this stream entered the Detroit River at 575 feet elevation, the gradient, therefore, was 20 feet in $1\frac{1}{4}$ miles, which would have been sufficient to account for a deep-set stream (ravine) near its exit. Silas Farmer gives us a sketch of the Detroit River front of 1819 which shows it as such.⁸ By comparison with houses, boats, people and other objects in this sketch, the banks of the Savoyard where it makes exit appear to be not less than 25 feet high on either side. (Fig. 2.) It should be noted that while the source of the Savoyard was in a swamp and the exit was a deep-set ravine, the gradient of this stream (16 ft. to 1 mi.) seems to have been fairly regular. In its physiographic development the stream had long since cut the ravine so that its flow was not rapid at any place throughout its course.

An account of Cadillac's selection of the site for his post when he entered the Detroit River in 1701 gives considerable information concerning the Savoyard Creek and the River front. (Fig. 3.) He noted the narrowness of the Detroit River with high bluffs on either side. "On the north side he saw that the high bluff ended rather abruptly at its western end, in a round-topped hill, and around the foot of this hill poured the waters of a small river about 25 feet wide and 10 feet deep. That hill stood near the present foot of First Street and that little river was later known as the Savoyard. For some distance above its mouth it ran parallel to the Detroit River and created a narrow tongue of high ground which was fairly level at the top and heavily wooded; as a place for a fort it was defended on three sides by a waterfront."⁹

Frequent reference in early reports is made to banks of the Savoyard in the vicinity of Griswold and Shelby streets, where

8. Farmer, Silas, *History of Detroit and Michigan*. (Farmer, Detroit, 1884, p. 368.)

9. Catlin, George B., *The Story of Detroit*, p. 5.



LEGENDS

1. The exit of the Savoyard is shown near the center in this picture. Note that the bluffs are steep and appear to be about 25 feet high. (Sketch from Farmer).

2. Fort Pontchartrain was placed well up on high land bordering the river, approximately along Jefferson Avenue between Griswold and Wayne streets as they exist today. (Picture in Burton Collection and also shown in Catlin, George B. —*The Story of Detroit*, p. 9).

3. The Mansion house was built shortly after the Great Fire of 1805. Stone for the structure was taken largely from tumbled down chimneys left after the fire. It was located approximately at the present northwest corner of Jefferson and Cass Avenues. The Savoyard flowed behind this structure and made exit to the left several hundred feet. Note the rather high bank of the Detroit River, still in existence after more than a century of use of this river front. (Taken from Farmer, *History of Detroit and Michigan* p. 481).

4. Hugh Moffatt's Saw Mill near the foot of Orleans street in 1880. It shows the use made of shoal water some distance from the original shore, most of which has been filled.

the water was said to have been 8 feet deep. Canoe and bateau were accommodated by a sufficient depth of water as far up as the present Woodward Avenue, where it was from 3 to 8 feet deep. Strange as it may seem, this small stream appears to have had sufficient flow to turn a mill wheel. The Hon. J. V. Campbell points out that Cadillac probably erected a public mill somewhere along the stream, and that complaints were made of his having made a liberal use of his miller's prerogative of tolls.¹⁰ The exact location of this mill is not known but undoubtedly it was between Griswold and Third Street.

No doubt the Savoyard was bridged at many places in its time. It was bridged at Wayne Street in 1778 to supply a passage to Fort Lernoult, later Fort Shelby, which had been erected to the north on high ground centered at the present Fort and Shelby streets. An old bridge at Woodbridge Street was used for many years. Probably this was the main passage to the west and down the river from Cadillac's Village and remained so thereafter. This bridge not being exactly in line with Woodbridge Street was removed and a new one of stone built in proper line in 1826. At the same time a channel walled with wood was constructed from the bridge to the river. The latter was necessary to afford rapid passage of the polluted waters of the Savoyard out across the reedy-shoal of quiet waters of the Detroit River lying to the West of the high bluff and the exit of the Savoyard. A wide bridge spanned the Savoyard at the present Woodward Avenue in 1821, and just below this bridge boy anglers found successful fishing. In early times particularly, the stream was much used in going to and from the Detroit River, but as time went on and more and more people lived near the stream, it was used as a drain and became more polluted. Many planks and foot bridges also spanned this stream up to about 1826.

The stream became increasingly polluted and after Fort Shelby was demolished the bottom and sides of the Savoyard were planked with lumber from that fortification. It lost

10. Campbell, Hon. James Valentine: *The Departed Waters of Detroit*. Burton Historical Collection Leaflet, Vol. I, No. 4, April 1922.

its beauty as a stream and became an offensive open sewer, till in 1836 the city was forced in the interest of sanitation to enclose it. It was covered with stone. In fact, most of the Savoyard as shown on the map, including the tributary from the north, finally was converted into a sewer, at great expense, but it has served continuously as such for more than a century.

In general, it may be said of the Savoyard that it was the historic stream of early Detroit. It was within sight of this little river that Cadillac landed and built his first fort; here was the scene of the Fox siege of 1712, of Pontiac's conspiracy in 1763, of Hull's surrender in 1812, great fires, depressions and hunger, tragic deaths, and heroic living; here, too, were furled and unfurled the flags of three nations. The influence of this small stream was far-reaching in that for a long time it prevented symmetrical expansion of this village. It held the settlement so close to the Detroit River that for a century those who crossed the Savoyard felt themselves exposed and separated from the village.

MAY'S CREEK

The second stream of importance in early Detroit was May's Creek which has been designated by the early French as *La Riviere du Moulin a Campau*, or Campau's Mill Creek. Later it was Cabacier's Creek, but finally after American occupation it took its name after James May, a prominent citizen who owned land and probably operated the mill along its course. To a large extent it gathered the run-off behind and beyond the peninsula-like elevation of land which extended westward from Woodward Avenue along Fort, Howard and Abbott streets, previously referred to. Its exit was approximately at Twelfth street where its waters and sediments mingled with those of the Savoyard to form a marshy border to the Detroit River. The main part of the stream had its origin east of Woodward Avenue near the present Brush and Eliot streets, flowing southward and gathering more flow from the marshy pond which occupied the position of our Grand Circus Park.

It crossed Woodward at about the present Grand River Avenue continuing westward along State and Labrosse to Tenth Street, thence bearing southwestward to the Michigan Central tracks and southward to the Detroit River near Twelfth Street. The total length was about $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles. A tributary had origin to the north of the present Masonic Temple leading southwestward and south, approximately along Fifth Avenue, gathering flow from marsh areas which later were to become Cass, Crawford and Elton Parks. It entered the main stream at about Sixth and Labrosse streets. A second tributary came from a flat area north of the present Michigan Avenue, crossing that street just beyond the Michigan Central Station, thence southward to join the main stream near Vermont and the railroad tracks. (Fig. 1.) For a number of blocks the present Michigan Central Railroad tracks follow the old line of this stream. Former writers have recognized this western tributary of May's Creek but none have shown its position on a map of modern street plan. Catlin points out that "this creek flowed down from the northwest through a deep ravine, and crossed Michigan Avenue just north of the present Michigan Central Station."¹¹

May's Creek seems to have been called *ravine* or *creek* frequently but seldom designated *river*. Its most distant source was approximately the present Brush and Eliot streets, and that elevation was about 610 feet above sea level. Thus if it flowed to the Detroit River at elevation 575 feet the gradient would have been 35 feet in $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles, or 14 feet per mile. From the position of Michigan Central Station southward this tributary was a ravine whose banks were later graded down and the Michigan Central tracks laid on the filled-in bed in 1848.

From the above one would judge that like the Savoyard, May's Creek had its origin in the marshy flat area a mile or more inland from the Detroit River. In its physiographic development it had cut a deep-set valley through a considerable portion of its lower course, and thus evened the gradient throughout so that the water was not a fast flow anywhere

11. Catlin, George, *The Story of Detroit*, p. 23.

except perhaps at flood time. No record is made of either falls or rapids in all of these early streams. No doubt the ravine-like valley of May's Creek continued to within a short distance of its exit, where the valley spread out into the reedy-marsh cove below the mouth of the Savoyard referred to by Catlin. The volume of May's Creek probably was greater than that of the Savoyard because of greater length, number of tributaries and area drained by the former. May's Creek is known to have turned at least one mill for more than three-quarters of a century.

One Jacques Peltier built a dam and a mill on this stream in 1734 near what would now be the location of Twelfth and Howard streets.¹² It was probably just below the junction of the north branch with the main stream. This mill is reported to have ground grain for most of the settlement in the early period, though windmills along the straits and other mills came to be used also. The village baker who had hitched his pony to the cart, and then tapped the ashes from his pipe to cause the fire that burned the entire village in 1805, was about to make a hurried trip to this mill about a mile away to replenish his supply of flour.¹³ One report dated 1753 relates a controversy over the fact that this mill-dam caused an overflow of meadow land owned by a Mr. Cabacier. On appeal to the French government at Montreal, it was ordered by Duquesne that the mill should not be disturbed. The reasons given were that the mill-dam was made before Cabacier owned the land, and that the mill was the only one near the fort,¹⁴ that ran most of the year. Thus it is known that May's Creek turned at least one mill wheel for a long period. It is said that the water was sufficient in volume to run this mill for 6 or 8 months of the year, which would have been most of the time when the stream was not frozen.

In the absence of good roads wheat from the inland was sometimes hauled down May's Creek with teams and sleds

12. Farmer, Silas, *History of Detroit and Michigan*, p. 8.

13. Catlin, George B., *The Story of Detroit*, pp. 115-116.

14. Campbell, Hon. J. C., *The Departed Waters of Detroit*. Burton Historical Collection leaflet, Vol. I, No. 4, April 1922.

over the ice in winter. No doubt it was ground into flour at the mill mentioned above or perhaps at one of the windmills on the bank of the Detroit River. May's Creek remained as a drainage system throughout the French, British and early American periods. Very little reference is made in past writings relating to its use as a highway except the one mentioned above. Perhaps a dam at the mill-site near the present Howard and Twelfth streets served as obstruction for navigation by small craft, then too, the lands about May's Creek did not constitute the population center which demanded much traffic, as was the case with the Savoyard Creek. Yet it is likely that May's Creek was navigated by small craft throughout its lower course. Because of the marsh areas along its course, this stream undoubtedly had a rather uniform flow throughout the seasons. No less than four such marshes are mentioned by Farmer. Today these are known as parks, i.e.—Grand Circus, Cass, Crawford and Elton. The latter two are small and not known by many people. They occupy positions along Fifth Avenue between Grand River and Michigan avenues. (Fig. 1.) These had become dumping grounds for filth of all sorts and, therefore, nuisances by 1840, but soon after this date filling and grading was begun. From 1 to 4 feet of filling was done at Grand Circus Park in 1844. In 1848, as noted above, the main bed of May's Creek from the present Michigan Central Station southward was filled in and the railroad tracks placed along its course. Within about three decades following 1850 May's Creek with all of its marshes were filled and graded and most of the evidences of the former location were gone. Within this period the river front at its exit was filled and extended, railroad tracks were laid to serve the old Michigan Central Station at about the present foot of Fifth Street, and buildings were erected on what had once been but a reedy-marsh bordering the Detroit River.

BLOODY RUN

Parent's Creek (Bloody Run) was the longest and it has been called the most historic of the original streams of Old

Detroit. It had its source about 3 miles inland in the vicinity of the present East Grand Boulevard and Harper Avenue, and flowed southward crossing and recrossing our present Gratiot Avenue between Mt. Elliott and Joseph Campau streets. Thence it bent southward and eastward then southward again through Elmwood Cemetery and entered the Detroit River near the present Adair Street. The name of Parent's Creek was undoubtedly from Joseph Parent, a very early French settler here, but the name was changed to Bloody Run after Captain Dalyell and many of his men were defeated and killed by Indians while crossing this stream during Pontiac's War in 1763. It was an important and tragic event which fixed the name Bloody Run to this stream for all time thereafter, but it might be debated as to whether or not this incident made Bloody Run a more historic stream than the Savoyard, considering all of the events which occurred on or near the banks of the latter from the time of Cadillac's coming, down through the history of Detroit.

Bloody Run was the last of these old streams to be filled and obliterated. This was no doubt due to the fact that the stream was located farther away from the population center than either of the other streams. Farmer writes in 1884 that "only a few years ago the entire course of the stream could be traced; now nearly half of its length is filled in, and its channel will soon be obliterated."¹⁵

His prophesy was fulfilled within a decade or so, with the exception of about a half mile length where the valley passes through what is now Elmwood Cemetery. Indeed a true cross-section of the original ravine may be observed here, where it is fairly U shaped with steep bluffs, about 300 feet wide from top of bluff and fully 30 feet deep. Even the position of the former stream may be seen where it meandered along the bottom of this valley. Of course the present day drainage is cared for by underground passages leading to the Detroit River. Only one tributary seems to have reached Bloody Run from the West side. It had its origin in the vicinity of the

15. Farmer, Silas, *History of Detroit and Michigan*, p. 9.

present Canfield and Rivard streets and flowed southeastward to meet the main stream at about what is now Gratiot and Erskine streets. Two tributaries entered from the east side. One had origin at about the present Mt. Elliott and Hunt streets flowing south and west to form the ravine in the northern part of Elmwood Cemetery. It is observed that this portion of the ravine is quite large and deep to have been formed by so short a tributary, yet Farmer did not recognize a larger side-stream in this position. Another tributary from the east had origin at about our present St. Paul and Concord streets, flowing southwest to meet Bloody Run a short distance north of Jefferson Avenue. The characteristic bends of the contour line of 595 feet elevation on the recent government map is quite suggestive of the former position of this tributary.

The ravine-like nature of the Valley of Bloody Run was well known at the position where Jefferson Road crossed this stream, for it was here that Dalyell and his men were in the act of crossing the log bridge that spanned the stream when they were attacked by Indians. The report is that many who were killed, "rolled to the bottom of the ravine."¹⁶ It is therefore, quite probable that the ravine formed by Bloody Run, began some distance above the present Gratiot Avenue and continued to just below Jefferson Avenue. Present contour lines and the lay of the land indicate that at a short distance below Jefferson the valley widened out to form a broad flood plain just before entry into the Detroit River. The total gradient of Bloody Run was approximately 55 feet in three miles, or about 18 feet per mile, and if one judges from the nature of the ravine now exposed in Elmwood Cemetery this gradient was fairly uniform, as seems to have been the case with both the Savoyard and May's Creek. The only record here of navigation of this stream is found in the story of Dalyell's defeat here. A bateau was brought by way of the Detroit River and up Bloody Run to the bridge, a distance of about one-fourth mile, for the purpose of removing the bodies of dead soldiers after the battle.

16. Catlin, George B., *The Story of Detroit*, p. 57.

An old map entitled Plan of Private Claims in Michigan Territory as surveyed by Aaron Greeley in 1810, shows that claims were plotted, generally extending inland perpendicular to the Detroit River front, and without regard to this stream in any respect. In fact, the same might be said for the Savoyard and May's Creek. These streams were too small to serve as land fronts in laying out claims. However, Bloody Run has a record of having been a mill stream, for at least two are known to have existed along its course. One was located just south of Jefferson Road, and a second just below where the stream crossed the present Gratiot Avenue. The Hon. J. V. Campbell, previously referred to, reported that Bloody Run at one time had abundant fish between its exit and the dam at Jefferson Avenue, and that as lands became more settled and drainage ditches were cut, the volume of the stream became less.

THE RIVER FRONT

The old river front of Detroit within the limits of the present East and West Grand Boulevards has played an important role in Detroit history, and has undergone changes beyond the wildest dreams of the early founders. It was the transportation front and busy thoroughfare for immediate local use, as well as the chief means of reaching distant places for more than a century after Cadillac's founding in 1701. This front is located on the outside of a bend of the Detroit River, and quite largely for this reason it was a bare and eroding bluff, and had developed a shoal off-shore which extended out for many feet. It was approximately 150 feet out opposite the foot of the present Shelby Street. It was perhaps greater than this opposite about Eighth Street, and less in some other places.

The bluff ranged from a few feet in height, at the exits of streams such as Bloody Run and May's Creek to about 25 feet high in the vicinity of the present Griswold and Shelby streets. Various estimates are found in the records concerning the height of this river bluff which Cadillac chose as the

site for his post. It was undoubtedly the highest spot to be found close to the straits anywhere along the course from Lake St. Clair to Lake Erie. In describing his choice of site Cadillac referred to the bank as being "about 40 feet high." If this estimate was that of the total height of land above the river and near to it, the estimate was within reason. Even today Jefferson Avenue a short distance east of Woodward is more than 30 feet above the river, according to the topographic map.

The river border for a distance equivalent to several blocks below the exit of Savoyard Creek was referred to by Catlin as being a reedy-marsh cove frequented by wild fowl in season. However, the bank proper fronting the cove (just below the present Fort Street) must have had considerable height, though it may not have been quite as much of an eroded bluff in nature as the river front was elsewhere, due to the fact that the cove occupied a coastal indentation below the exit of the Savoyard (now approximately Fourth to Twelfth Streets) and the somewhat protruding high bank at about Shelby Street. (Fig. 4.) No doubt the sediments from the Savoyard and May's Creeks, tended to keep the cave partially filled and therefore marshy.

The effects of the shoal off-shore on the early water-front of Detroit were that it permitted the early craft of shallow draft to navigate close to the shore, yet later on as larger and heavier craft drawing more and more water were used, it necessitated docks or piers projecting into the river so that boats could be served. Thus beginning quite early in Detroit history projecting piers into the river from street ends were common. The King's Bake house was on an extended wharf at about the foot of Shelby Street; the Merchant's Wharf was near the foot of Griswold, Public Wharf was at the foot of Wayne, Wing's Wharf at the foot of Griswold, Hudson's Wharf at Bates Street, Berthelet's Wharf at Randolph, to mention only important ones, all of which are dated before 1830. Some extended 200 feet into the river, but many were less than this distance.

The coming of the steamboat following the Walk-in-the-Water of 1818, further stimulated the building of wharves, but as the village grew, particularly after the war of 1812-1814, the problem of sanitation became a pressing matter. The practice of putting rubbish and refuse of all kinds into the river to be carried away by the current had been followed throughout Detroit's history. This material gathered on the shallow shoal borders and between piers, so that it became unsightly, offensive, a danger to public health, and thus a constant nuisance. In 1826 improvement of the river front began, when the shallow border between the present Griswold and Randolph Streets was filled largely by grading the embankment from old Fort Shelby which had been donated to the city by the National Government. When this filling was done it had extended the shore line out over the shallow shoal water. Gradually in the following decades the entire river front was thus extended, till in about 1880 and thereafter, one finds docks parallel to the shore, boat wells, warehouses, streets, railway yards and many other kinds of buildings occupying the made-land at the river front. (Fig. 5.) Thus it is today, as in the case of the locations of former streams, one has difficulty in locating the original shore line either by observing or by a search of past records. Farmer traced the original shore line on a map of the street plan in 1884, with considerable accuracy, and this position is generally accepted.¹⁷ The greatest extension of shore line was perhaps several hundred feet in the vicinity of the present Fourth to Twelfth streets. This, it should be noted, is between the former exits of the Savoyard and May's Creeks, and was the reedy-marsh cove referred to by Catlin and mentioned above. This front extending on to or about the present Twenty-First Street is occupied by more railway tracks and switching yards than any other part of the Detroit River front today. Throughout this stretch of river front between Fourth and Twelfth streets the present Jefferson Avenue is located largely on made-ground. Farmer points out specifically "that on lower

17. Farmer, *History of Detroit and Michigan*. Map, p. 8.

Woodward Avenue the original shore was located 177 feet north of the north line of Atwater Street. Between Woodward Avenue and Wayne Street the river occupied about one-half of the blocks between Atwater and Woodbridge Streets. At Cass Avenue it occupied a part of Jefferson Avenue.¹⁸ Eastward from Woodward Avenue the shore line was just below the present Atwater Street, which, strange as it may seem, took its name probably from Reuben Atwater, former Secretary to the Territory of Michigan, rather than from the fact that this street was located nearly at the original water front. This extended front along the present Atwater Street is occupied by many industrial plants, including several large stove works, for which Detroit became famous in the decades before 1900. It is considered at this date an old industrial district.

Today much is heard concerning an improvement of the Detroit River front. City planners vision an automobile highway along the river, not only to facilitate traffic but to provide a scenic route along a water front, and perhaps beautify the whole. Certainly as it exists today, our river front is not a thing of beauty. It is possible that in the future this water front may be further changed to present a scene even far different from the present, and one which to the early settlers would have been beyond belief.

After a careful survey of the writings of the past, an attempt has been made herein to select all information pertinent to early streams and landforms in the "old Detroit" downtown area, and to incorporate it in a map designed to give a correct interpretation of the original surface features of Detroit. (Fig. 6.) This method may well be criticized as not being scientific nor historical, but it is believed it will be conducive to a better understanding of the physiographic setting where much of Detroit's early history was made.

18. Farmer, *History of Detroit and Michigan*, p. 7.

HISTORICAL NEWS
AND NOTES



DR. LEWIS BEESON

NEW HISTORICAL COMMISSION SECRETARY

THE Michigan Historical Commission have announced the appointment of Lewis Beeson, Minnesota historical executive, as their secretary to succeed George N. Fuller who retires after holding the position since establishment of the Commission in the administration of Governor Ferris 33 years ago.

Dr. Beeson graduated from the University of Oregon in 1927, majoring in history, journalism and political science. He took his M.A. degree there in 1930, and the Ph.D. degree at the University of Minnesota in 1939. His academic honors include Phi Beta Kappa, a Sigma Delta Chi scholarship award, and a fellowship in the University of Minnesota, 1933-34. In the years since graduation he has been graduate assistant in history at the University of Oregon, the University of Minnesota and Northwestern University, and has been instructor in Minnesota history, extension division, University of Minnesota, since 1940.

Dr. Beeson's professional experience in the field of state and local history began in 1930 with employment at the Minnesota Historical Society during vacation periods, first as manuscript assistant and later as research assistant and curator of newspapers. For the past three years he has been serving as acting superintendent of the Society in place of Major Arthur J. Larsen who has recently returned from service with the Army to resume his duties as superintendent.

Dr. Beeson has edited a number of publications in state and local history, and is the author of numerous articles and book reviews which have appeared in scholarly journals and popular magazines. Since 1942 he has edited *Minnesota History*, a Quarterly similar to the *Michigan History Magazine*.

He holds membership in a number of professional societies, including the American Historical Association, the Mississippi Valley Historical Society, the Society of American Archivists, and the American Association for State and Local History. He was president of the Twin City Library Association (Minne-

apolis and St. Paul) in 1944-45, and vice-president of the Minnesota Folk Arts Foundation for that year.

Dr. Beeson will assume his duties as secretary of the Historical Commission next July 1.

ON MICHIGAN DAY

MRS. EDITH EVE DAVIS entertained the Trustees of the State Historical Society and their ladies at a luncheon given in her home at 528 S. Washington Avenue, Lansing, on Michigan Day, January 26.

A business meeting of the Board followed luncheon, looking towards the 1946 annual meeting of the Society to be held in Saginaw by invitation from State Representative John P. Schuch who is a Trustee and immediate past president of the Society. Presiding was President Robert H. Larson of Dearborn. All but three of the 15 Board members were present. The ladies were entertained at bridge during the session. "A good time was had by all."

Mrs. Davis is the daughter of the late Benjamin F. Davis, banker and industrialist, who for over a quarter of a century served as treasurer of the Society.

ANTHONY WAYNE MEMORIAL PARKWAY

IN line with the modern trend toward living memorials, rather than dead structures with no utility, the Anthony Wayne Memorial Association has suggested an Anthony Wayne Parkway to extend between Detroit and Toledo, which might not only relieve congestion of travel there but link up with the similar parkway planned in Ohio and Indiana from Toledo westward through the chain of forts built during General Anthony Wayne's 1793-95 campaign that established American rule in the Old Northwest.

The Ohio-Indiana program is considerably advanced. It has been promoted through historical celebrations, first at Toledo in 1944, commemorating the Battle of Fallen Timbers in which Wayne decisively defeated the western Indians in 1794; then at Greenville, Ohio, last summer commemorating the "Treaty of Greene Ville" by which the Indians ceded a vast area in the region to the south of us; and now it is proposed to commemorate the 150th anniversary of Wayne's coming to Detroit in 1796 by order of President Washington to take over from the British. That event took place in July, when the Stars and Stripes were raised over old Fort Lernoult in Detroit on July 11, 1796.

The parkway would link the existing and proposed park developments along the Detroit-Toledo route with the various recreational areas of southeastern Michigan. The connecting drives would be the existing state or county roads, with proper highway markings. The Association believes that such a parkway would not only be a fitting memorial to Wayne but of permanent benefit to Michigan and the nation.

In the Ohio legislature a bill providing for an Anthony Wayne Memorial Parkway failed to reach the floor of the House in the last session, according to *Museum Echoes*, publication of the Ohio Archeological and Historical Society. A news note continues: "The Highway and Finance Committees of the House recommended the bill for passage. Supporters of the bill intend to present it at the next legislative session. The Society's activities in support of this effort have won recognition and favor throughout the State. The members of the Wayne Joint Legislative Committee learned more about the Society's work and ardently supported appropriation requests during the session."

ANTHONY WAYNE'S PORTRAIT

APROPOS of the Wayne sesquicentennial this year mention should be made of the article published in the Magazine in 1942 (Autumn number) by Dr. F. Clever Bald, entitled "General Anthony Wayne Visits Detroit." This article carried the picture of Wayne from the well-known painting "The Trumbull Portrait." The origin of this picture, no longer regarded as accurate, is described in an excerpt from this article published in the Summer 1945 issue of the D. T. C. *Quarterly*. A page accompanying the excerpt has a picture, thought to be more true to life, that is reproduced from an engraving of a portrait painted by Henry Elouis in 1796, showing him as probably Detroiters knew him when he was there from mid-August to mid-November in that year. On another page is a manuscript letter by Wayne containing his official announcement that Detroit has been occupied by American troops.

COVERED BRIDGES

(The following items are taken by permission from *Covered Bridge Topics*, one of our newest exchanges, founded in 1943 by Richard Sanders Allen, now serving with the Army Air Forces. It is published quarterly at Anderson, Indiana. We are informed that communications intended solely for Mr. Allen may be directed to him either in care of the Postmaster, Round Lake, New York, or in care of *Covered Bridge Topics*. The publication site was transferred from New York to Indiana because of the induction of its founder into the armed services. We are assured that correspondence with covered bridge lovers upon that subject will be welcomed by Mr. Allen and his assistants. This little publication is mimeographed and issued at a subscription price of 50 cents a year to cover costs. These sheets are standard letter size (8½ x 11) with sufficient margin to permit insertion in a standard ring binder. It is understood that arrangements have been made to reproduce the back numbers, completely indexed, for a small sum. An up-to-date census of existing covered timber bridges of the United States and Canada, by states and provinces, was presented in the March number of *Covered Bridge Topics*, 1946.)

ACCORDING to the United States Patent Office, the first bridge patent was issued to Charles W. Peale, of Pennsylvania, on January 21, 1797. It was for a covered bridge.

This Mr. Peale was Charles Willson Peale, a famous American because of his other pursuits. Philadelphia's foremost portrait painter, he did eight portraits of George Washington from life and formed the first society of American artists. He was also the first American taxidermist, and originated the habitat arrangement, now universally used in museums, of which "Peale's Museum" in Philadelphia was the first in America.

Peale became interested in bridge construction through the desire of his city for a bridge across the Schuylkill. In 1797 he published "An Essay on Building Wooden Bridges" in which he submitted drawings and details for the bridge that he patented.

As far as is known, no bridge was built to his specifications, but the Market Street bridge, on the site he wished it built, was constructed eight years later under the direction of the famed Timothy Palmer, who may well have followed some of his suggestions.

Indiana's Eel River bridge at Bowling Green, once saved from destruction when R. B. Yule, then chairman of the Indiana Historical Society's Covered Timber Bridge Committee, directed a rather eloquent letter to the Clay county commissioners, finally has succumbed to elements other than those made by man. In June the west span of the structure collapsed with a roar.

The bridge was to be sold on August 25. Residents of Bowling Green plan to erect a monument atop the central pier commemorating the old bridge, which was erected in 1854.

In 1935, following completion of the new state highway bridge nearby, commissioners ordered the county engineer to dismantle the wooden span. Harry L. Elkins, of Bowling Green, wrote to Dr. Christopher B. Coleman, secretary of the Indiana

Historical Society, pleading with him to see what could be done to save the structure. Dr. Coleman referred the matter to Mr. Yule, who composed a letter to the commissioners stressing the bridge's history and the part it played in the lives of generations of travelers.

The covered span was used regularly by farmers who found the dark tunnel a convenient access to fields on the west side of the stream. Flooring of the west span was weak in one spot, and officials decided to board up the portals. The farmers promptly ripped the barricades down. A portion of the flooring finally was removed to halt traffic.

Vermont is a state famed for "men, women, maple sugar and horses". A mental picturization of the state is bound to conjure up wooded green hills, swift, cascading brooks, white-spired valley villages, and old covered bridges.

For in Vermont can be seen more covered bridges in the least area than in any other state. This does not mean that tourists will not have to travel over hill and dale and into some out-of-the-way corners of the countryside, for the covered bridges have all but gone from the state's main routes. But last summer's census, taken by A. W. Coleman, of the Vermont State Highway Department, with additional notes from Edmund H. Royce, of St. Albans, lists a grand total of 168½ covered bridges still standing in the Green Mountain State—or 166 of the five Connecticut River bridges are awarded to Vermont's New Hampshire neighbors. (This could be on geographical grounds only. The Vermont shoreline is New Hampshire's boundary. But Vermonters pay well for the upkeep of the river bridges.)

Seven of the 166 are covered railroad bridges—on the Rutland, St. Johnsbury and Lake Champlain, and the Montpelier and Wells River Railroads. The rest are highway spans, scattered about the state in unexpected places—some on back-country roads, while others still serve the villages clustered on the banks of the mill ponds.

A surprising fact brought to light by the census is that Vermont has lost (or is due to have replaced) only ten covered bridges in the past four years. This does not denote lack of progress, but rather lack of necessity. Vermonters repair their bridges so long as it is possible to do so economically.

The four best-known bridges to be removed were those at Stowe over the Waterbury, or "Little" River; Woodstock, over the Ottauquechee (see July, 1944, Topics), Cambridgeport, over Saxton's river, and the Newfane "1841 Bridge" over Newfane Brook. All of these were on main, well-traveled highways, and had borne heavy traffic for years. Newfane Bridge may be re-erected next year by an association of Newfane citizens formed for the purpose (see Summer and Fall, 1945, Topics).

Victim of a spring freshet in March, 1942, was the bridge serving a few farms on the other side of the First Branch of White River between Tunbridge and North Tunbridge.

Others replaced by the highway authorities were the spans at North Ferrisburg over Lewis Creek, south of Fairfax over Brown's River, and between Sharon and Barnard over Broad Brook in the town of Royalton.

The "Oakes Bridge", first one over Mill Brook west of Brownsville (in West Windsor) was due for replacement in 1945. Farther down Mill Brook at the foot of Ascutney Mountain in Windsor stands the skeleton of another bridge. Last winter's heavy snow collapsed the roof. The bridge is due to be replaced as soon as bidders can be found to build a new one.

A fertile field for collectors, Vermont is still comparatively rich in covered bridges and offers a great variety of settings for its scores of interesting old spans.

"Bridges and Their Builders", by D. B. Steinman and Sara Ruth Watson (G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York, 1941), contains a section "Timber Spans and Covered Bridges" (Pp. 113-31), which presents a comprehensive and accurate picture of wooden bridge construction from Andrea Palladio to the pres-

ent time. The writers thoroughly appreciate the problems of the earlier builder, recount them with sympathy and humor and inject color into the account, making it highly entertaining as well as informative.

The covered bridge hobby is a collector's hobby wherein the primary object to collect is hardly the kind one carts home in a brief case, or the rumble seat. Instead, one must be content with photographs which show the bridges as they are, or as they were.

Almost a separate sub-hobby is the searching out of old photographs of covered bridges that have long since ceased to exist. (Old cuts, engravings and lithographs are a subject in themselves.)

It will be interesting to discover some time the oldest actual photograph showing a covered bridge. Certainly among the oldest will be pictures taken during the War Between The States. In photographic histories of that war are found pictures of covered railroad and highway bridges used for troop movements. There are also pictures showing the old bridges over the Potomac at and above the capitol at Washington, with the roofs and siding removed in order to reduce the fire and sabotage hazard.

Next come photographs of famous old-time bridges, such as the massive structures at Schenectady, N. Y., and Trenton, N. J., taken before those landmarks were replaced in the early seventies.

Between 1870 and 1900 many covered bridge photographs were doubtless taken, some in the form of the popular double stereoscopic views. Nearly any that can be turned up are rarities. They were taken as the towns grew while the bridges aged, as the railroads expanded and replaced theirs with steel, and as backgrounds for family and social outings, parades and picnics. Occasionally, a long-sought picture of a certain bridge turns up, often in a place far removed from the site itself, and becomes a cherished item for the researcher's collection.

After 1900 the picture postcard held sway, and recorded hundreds of covered bridges on the highways and byways, whose appearance might otherwise be unknown today. Local postcard makers snapped pictures of every conceivable building, street scene and landmark, in hopes of sales to visitors and proud citizens alike. These are found today in old scrap books, postcard albums and loose assortments in second-hand bookstores.

Some postcards were delicately hand-colored, others merely garish, retouched smears of brilliant hues. Some of the best were finished in Germany and imported duty-free into this country (for a time). The true photographic postcards are the best, but are often found to have yellowed and faded with age.

So it appears that in almost any accumulation of old pictures or postcards may be found some choice item for a covered bridge collector. Oftentimes old postcards saved for the stamps upon the address side prove to be more valuable from a photographic than a philatelic standpoint.

One of the beauties of covered bridge collecting is that unlike the accumulation of coins, stamps or bird's eggs, one does not require an original copy to have a fine collection.

Naturally, the old picture itself makes a fine item, but when it is found that the owner will not part with it, a photographic copy is just as good. Often in the case of a badly-faded picture, the copyists camera can actually make a better, more recognizable picture, and the resulting negative becomes a source of copies for distribution or sale to other collectors.

Every old bridge picture that can be brought to light adds to the historical material available to covered bridge hobbyists. So be sure to watch out for so-called "junk" when the attics are cleared next spring.

And good hunting!

MINNEAPOLIS SHOAL NEMESIS OF BOATS

MAYBE you didn't know it, but Minneapolis has a namesake in a northern bay of Lake Michigan, some 350 miles from Minneapolis.

You can't see it, because it's under water.

"Minneapolis shoal" is 18 miles south of Gladstone, in the upper end of Green bay in Lake Michigan.

It was named, not for the city of Minneapolis, but for the freight steamer Minneapolis, one of a fleet of lake boats owned and operated by the Minneapolis, St. Paul & Buffalo Steamship company, a subsidiary of the Soo Line railroad. The Minneapolis, heavily laden with grain en route from Gladstone to Buffalo, N. Y., ran aground on this shoal during a heavy September storm between 1897 and 1900 (exact date unknown because there were no casualties).

After the wreck, a lighted bell buoy, marked the shoal until 1935, when a modern lighthouse was constructed on the site.

Senator William D. Washburn, pioneer flour milling and lumbering executive, was also projector of the Soo Line, and planned to make Gladstone the lake port of the Twin Cities that was to rival Chicago itself. Gladstone was to be the outlet for the grain and flour of Minnesota and the Dakotas, and coal and iron ore were to join at this port.

The Soo Line was completed to Gladstone in 1887. The steamship company had in its fleet of boats the steamers Minneapolis, St. Paul, Hennepin (wooden), Nebraska (wooden), John Pridgeon Jr. (wooden), Huron, William Castle Rhodes and Lakawanna.

The Minneapolis, a package freighter, was built in South Chicago, Ill., in 1897. It was used in the transportation of grain and flour from Gladstone through the Great Lakes to eastern points for some 18 years.

Gladstone during this period enjoyed a real estate boom. It was believed destined to become another Chicago, and Gladstone lots were sold even in England.

It was platted originally as Minnewasca, but as Washburn had borrowed some of the money for the project from British financiers, the name was changed to Gladstone, in honor of Prime Minister William E. Gladstone.

It was a bustling lake port with promises of future greatness until 1915, when congress passed the LaFollette seamen's act, which sounded the death knell to Gladstone as a port. Under this act, railroads were not permitted to own or operate boats, and the water transportation business was dropped by the Soo Line.

Gladstone is still an important terminal on the Soo Line, the site of a large wood flouring mill, a wood veneer mill and the Marble Arms & Manufacturing company, makers of sportsmen's equipment.

The Steamer Minneapolis was sold in 1919 to Cuban interests, resold in 1922 to a Chicago company, later used to transport scrap iron and finally was wrecked on a sand bar near Holland, Mich., Dec. 6, 1936.—From *The Minneapolis Tribune*.

THE GRAVEREAT FAMILY

RELATIVELY little has been written of the early traders and their transactions with the Indians. But this is a part of our history which should not be neglected. A very interesting phase of this early commerce was the "trade silver" given the Indians in exchange for their peltries. In addition to the blankets, tomahawks, arms and ammunition traded the Indians, trade silver must have been a common medium of exchange and must have been produced in large quantities to judge by some of the invoices still in existence. It consisted of rings, ear ornaments, arm bands, bracelets, brooches, pendants, gorgets, etc.,—most of it punched from sheet silver extremely thin, so as to give the Indian as little as possible for his beaver skins.

It was handled by all traders,—French, English and American,—and consequently was produced in many localities: Philadelphia, Albany, Montreal, and even a considerable quantity

was made in Edinburgh; the typical heart-shaped brooch, "The Heart of Midlothian", seems to have had wide distribution. Most objects bear the stamp of the maker and a study of these "hall marks" is most interesting as it sometimes gives a clue as to whether the trade in a certain locality was conducted by the English or the French. Much of the trade silver in the Michigan area came from Montreal and bore the mark "R. C." (Robert Cruikshank) or merely "Montreal".

Nevertheless, in the early days Detroit was the headquarters of many silversmiths,—probably a dozen or more,—at a time when the population of the village numbered but a few hundred souls. Among these can be named Peter Desnoyers, Jean B. Piquette, Jean Louis Monet, François Paul Melcher (who is reported to have been a good man, but a poor silversmith), Louis Robitaille, Izrael Ruland, Julian Fontan, Pierrish Bethuy, John Kirby, Mons. Mion, Levi Brown (who invented the gold pen), and even the well known John Kinzie.

And in this list we must include the name of Gravereat, the silversmith who came to Michigan from Albany, N. Y., with Jacob Harsen, the gunsmith, who was identified with the history of Harsen's Island at the delta of the St. Clair River. There seems to be little recorded about the Gravereat family other than a few brief items, but it may be interesting to review and assemble these.

We are not entirely sure of Gravereat's Christian name. It is variously given as Isaac and Garret. The surname also has a number of spellings.

Gravereat had married Harsen's daughter and the combined vocations of gunsmith and silversmith were well adapted for traffic with the Indians. The Harsens and the Gravereats came to Michigan in the early months of 1773; but they did not go directly to Harsen's Island. The Harsens established themselves at Grosse Pointe while the Gravereats remained in Detroit. Gravereat engaged in trade in partnership with John Visger and later with Colin Andrews under the firm name of

Andrews, Gravereat and Visger. Early Detroit records, before the fire of 1805, show that at one time Lansing and Gravereat owned Lot No. 16 and also that Gravereat and Visger owned Lot No. 20. Both of these lots were on the south side of St. Anne Street, (Jefferson Avenue). We also learn that Israel Ruland served his apprenticeship with Gravereat.

The original Harsen home on the island is supposed to have been built about 1778, yet there is evidence that the Gravereats were still in Detroit as late as 1783, as during that year Gravereat seems to have been in difficulty with regard to a sum of money owed to Abraham Cuyler. The debt was partly paid in June 1783.

Apparently Gravereat did not live a great while after the family had removed to Harsen's Island. Following her husband's death, Mrs. Gravereat and her four children made their home with the grandfather, Jacob Harsen, in the original Harsen homestead. Here tragedy overtook the widow: in 1800 the explosion of a keg of gunpowder killed her and her brother, Bernard Harsen, instantly and demolished the home.

Of the four Gravereat children, we have the most definite information concerning Mary, the daughter. Grandfather Harsen had been brought up a strict Lutheran and he forbade the use of fire arms on the Sabbath. One Sunday morning a particularly large flock of ducks alighted on the water near the house. The oldest son took his gun to go for them. The powder flashed in the pan and he ran back to the house for more priming. The butt of the gun struck the door and was discharged, the charge entering Mary Gravereat's arm. She was then seven years of age. She was taken to Detroit to have the arm amputated. She spent most of her childhood in the family of Judge May where she learned to cook, sew and perform the usual household tasks. In 1814 she married Harvey Stewart, (Mr. Stewart's second marriage), and became the mother of Captain Albert Stewart of Detroit and Garret G. Stewart of Harsen's Island. It appears that during the War of 1812 the Stewarts had taken refuge in Detroit. They returned to Harsen's Island April 1, 1815.

History makes brief mention of three other Gravereats: Henry, Jacob and Robert, although we have nothing to confirm the relationship of the last two.

Henry, brother of Mary Gravereat Stewart, who was living in Detroit in 1812, was one of a group of eight selected to take a message to Commodore Perry to request immediate help for the village of Detroit. This was immediately following Perry's victory; General Harrison had not yet sent McArthur with his 700 effectives for the protection of the town and the inhabitants felt that the 600 Indians encamped in the neighborhood constituted a real menace. Perry recommended this group to Harrison to act as guides, as they had intimate knowledge of the country.

A missionary school for the benefit of Indians was established at Port Huron about 1821, the teachers being Mr. and Mrs. John S. Hudson, Mr. and Mrs. Hart and Miss Osmer. It met with little success at first for the reason that the Indians felt that the missionaries were attempting to enslave them. The services of an interpreter named Javerodd (Gravereat) were finally secured and the enrollment increased to 50 or 60. Instruction was mainly by the use of a box of sand, the writing being done with a sharpened stick. Later the school was removed to Mackinac, about 30 Indians going with it.

From another source we learn that Mr. (?) Gravereat assisted in procuring scholars for a mission school at Port Gratiot (Port Huron) about 1821, when there were but three dwelling houses there. This Gravereat was Aura P. Stewart's stepmother's brother and uncle of Garret G. Stewart of Harsen's Island. The school, after a trial of two years, was removed to Mackinac Island where Mr. (?) Gravereat's brother Henry acted as assistant.

Jacob Gravereat, claimed by one historian to have been a German, is traced from Detroit to Harsen's Island, thence to Harrison Township in Macomb County; back to Harsen's Island and finally to the Saginaw valley. Reference is made to him in "Bay County, Past and Present" as an interesting Dutch

character nicknamed "Old Grave Rod", who was well known in that region. Jacob is said to have been employed by John Jacob Astor and frequently acted as interpreter in transactions with the Indians. He married an Indian woman, said to have been the daughter of the fierce Kish-kaw-ko, who committed suicide in the Detroit jail after having been convicted of murder.

E. S. Williams chose Jacob Gravereat to assist him in reopening his trading post at Saginaw about 1828. He was living in Saginaw with his wife and half-breed children as late as 1847.

Robert J. Gravereat is identified with the upper peninsula and served as interpreter for H. R. Schoolcraft. Possibly he is the one associated with the mission school removed to Mackinac Island. He was one of the organizers of the Marquette Iron Company.

So far, we have been unable to identify any single piece of trade silver as having been made by Isaac Gravereat. There are a few pieces still on the Walpole Island Reserve, but so far as the writer knows, these bear no mark. Possibly Gravereat did not mark his work; or these pieces may have been obtained from some other source. A further search may disclose some marked pieces and clear up the question as to whether the name was Isaac or Garret.—By Newell E. Collins, Editor *The Totem Pole*, Algonac, Michigan.

POLISH PLACE NAMES

REV. FRANCIS BOLEK, professor of Polish and Polish Civilization at Canisius College, Buffalo, New York, is writing a book and would like to get some information regarding the following Polish place-names in Michigan:

1. Krakow, Presque Isle County
2. Liske, Presque Isle County
3. Niedolipie, Gatesville, Chippewa County
4. Paryz/Parisville/, Huron County
5. Pawlowski, Huron County

6. Poland, Lake County
7. Poland, Sanilac County
8. Polaski, Presque Isle County
9. Posen, Presque Isle County
10. Pulaski, Jackson County
11. Sandusky, Sanilac County
12. Sobieski, Menominee County
13. Sova, Cheboygan County
14. Vistula, Kalamazoo County

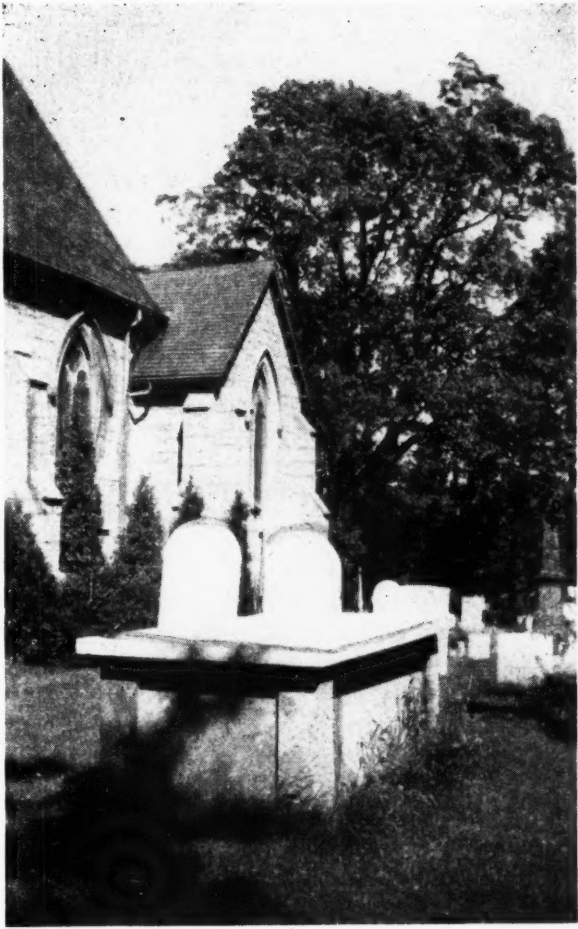
Anyone who can help Rev. Bolek may reach him at the College, or at his residence, P. O. Box 101, Athol Springs, New York, or through the Michigan Historical Commission at Lansing, Michigan.

JANE SCHOOLCRAFT MONUMENT

(Charles R. McCullough, writing in the *Hamilton Spectator*, tells the following story of this monument and of Jane Schoolcraft "with the definite object of drawing the attention of the historically-minded to one altar-tomb in St. John's burying-ground and to the once gracious lady who has for more than one hundred years been resting beneath it: Obahbahm-wawa-geezhaquay (Woman-of - the - Sound - the - Stars - Make-Rushing-Through-the-Sky)."—Ed.)

The inscription on the tombstone is becoming very difficult to decipher, owing to the wasting processes of the years, and so badly needs the chisel of some "Old Mortality" to restore it to legibility. However, the sharp eyes and patience of my friend, "Historicus," were equal to the task. To him are due my thanks also for the photograph showing the tomb and its location near the church. The stone-cutter of old engraved the following on the slab that now needs restoration:

"Jane, wife of Henry R. Schoolcraft, Esqr. Born at St. Mary's Falls, January 31, 1800. She died at Dundas, May 22nd, 1842, in the arms of her sister, during a visit at the house of the rector of this church, while her husband was absent in England and her children at a distant school. She was the eldest daughter of John Johnston, Esqr., and Susan, daugh'r of Waubojee, a celebrated war chief and civil ruler of the Odjibwa tribe. Carefully educated and of polished manners and conversation, she was



—Photo by George Laidler.

Monument of Jane Schoolcraft, St. John's Churchyard,
Ancaster, Ontario.

early fitted to adorn society, yet of retiring and modest deportment. Early imbued with the principles of true piety, she patiently submitted to the illness which for several years attended her decline, and was inspired through seasons of bodily and mental depression with the lively hope of a blessed immortality."

"Here rests by kindred hands enshrined
All of the loved one earth could bind;
The form, the eye, the heart, the hand,
So gentle, brave, so kind and bland.
Death came, unlooked for, yet his tread
She met so calm, so free from dread;
Whom angels winged to happier spheres,
Who smiled to quit a world of tears.
We mourn not then as those who see
No glorious bright eternity;
But while this stone fond hands upraise,
Grief best bespeaks our love and praise."

* * *

Let us look for a moment at Jane's father, John Johnston. He came of what has been called Scotch-Irish (Ulster) stock. He was born at Craige, near the Giant's Causeway, Antrim, Ireland, in 1762. In his young manhood Johnston came to this continent and served for a time on the staff of the Irish-born Guy Carleton (Lord Dorchester), Governor-General of Canada. Eventually, he became an Indian trader, with headquarters on the American side of the "Soo." There he married Susan, the daughter of the Chippewa (Ojibway) chieftain. The maiden's name, translated into English, was Woman of the Green Glade. She became the mother of Jane, who married Henry R. Schoolcraft, and of Charlotte, who became the wife of the Anglican missionary, William McMurray, who, in due course, filled the office as third rector of St. John's, Ancaster, being inducted in 1841.

It is said that when the maiden, Jane, visited the old country in company with her father (John Johnston), she became a great favorite among the "nobility of England" because of her "physical beauty and charming disposition." She received

her education in Montreal and Ireland. It was upon her return to the American Sault that she married Schoolcraft, commissioner from the U. S. Government to the western Indians, with headquarters at the place named. Henry Rowe Schoolcraft, who was born in the village of Guilderland, in the county of Albany, New York, in 1793, came of good old stock. His forebears were among those who accompanied William the Conqueror to England nearly 800 years before. In the course of years, the family name was changed from Calcraft to Schoolcraft. Henry Rowe's great grandfather, James Calcraft, came to this continent about the year 1727, with the victorious troops who had fought under Marlborough. These veterans were intended to fight the French of Canada in the never-ending conflict between the two races. A son of the above James (James also), grandfather of our subject, took part in the successful assault on Fort Niagara, under Sir William Johnson, when that stronghold was wrested from the French in 1759. Later, Henry Rowe's father (Lawrence Schoolcraft), serving with the Revolutionary army in 1776, heard read to the troops, stationed at Ticonderoga, the famous Declaration of Independence.

* * *

Henry Rowe Schoolcraft was a highly versatile man. He was a well-grounded geologist, an authority on American ethnology and archaeology, a much-travelled explorer-geographer, an historian, journalist, editor and poet withal. He was a true friend of the Indians and won their esteem and confidence. When he married Jane Johnston, in 1823, he not only made her his wife, but gained the companionship and counsel of a gifted woman steeped in aboriginal lore and liberally educated in the learning of the whites. Schoolcraft was a keen and discriminating collector of the Manabozho-Hiawatha legends. In this work he owed much to the help afforded by Jane and her family, whose minds had been stored with tales of bygone heroes and heroines of red men and women. Over Schoolcraft's rich store of accumulated information, the American poet,

Longfellow, pored for three full years before he gave to the world, in 1855, his masterpiece, *Hiawatha*—a sustained story of romance and tragedy of the red race. This indebtedness, the poet frankly acknowledged. In our own time, the late inspired composer, Samuel Coleridge-Taylor (son of a negro doctor of Sierra Leone, Africa) rendered three of the cantos of the poem into what has been compared to a symphony. For years the work has been sung in London's famous Albert Hall by a great company of performers—1,000 or more. The Bach Choir put it on in Hamilton some time ago without, of course, the magnificent stage setting and costuming of the London festival.

Jane Johnston (Mrs. Schoolcraft) was no mean contributor to her husband's fame. Not only was her father a man of considerable culture, but her mother was a woman deeply versed in the history and romance of her race. Indeed, Jane's grandfather, Chief Waubojee, had a great gift for story-telling and the creating of songs. These qualities Jane in goodly part inherited. Of this, Chase S. Osborn, in his monumental work (*Schoolcraft-Longfellow-Hiawatha*) testifies that Schoolcraft "with his marked literary inclinations, eager interest and tremendous energy, married into the most highly-developed literary family among the Lake Superior Indians."

* * *

Among the visitors to the Johnstons and Schoolcrafts, when they lived on Mackinac island, in 1837, was the brilliant Irish-woman, Anna Brownell Jameson, wife of Robert Jameson, vice-chancellor, Equity Court of Upper Canada. In *Winter Studies and Summer Rambles in Canada*, she gave a thumbnail sketch of Jane Schoolcraft in these words: "Mrs Schoolcraft received me with true ladylike simplicity. . . . Mrs. Schoolcraft's features are more decidedly Indian than those of her sister, Mrs. McMurray. Her accent is slightly foreign—her choice of language pure and remarkably elegant . . . her genuine refinement and simplicity, and native taste for literature, are charming, and the exceeding delicacy of her health,

and the trials to which it is exposed, interest all my womanly sympathies. . . . She is proud of her Indian origin and she takes an enthusiastic and enlightened interest in the welfare of her people."

* * *

The "Schoolcraft-Longfellow-Hiawatha" volume of 700 pages was written by Chase S. Osborn with his adopted daughter, Stellanova Brunt Osborn, as collaborationist. The literary assistant was once upon a time a resident of Hamilton, where she was born and attended public school and continued her studies at the Collegiate Institute. Later on, she entered the University of Michigan at Ann Arbor, and in due course graduated. Thereupon she accepted the post of private secretary with the then governor of the state, the Hon. Chase S. Osborn. Her adoption into the family followed some time afterward.

In the *Spectator* of February 27, 1943, Mrs. Ella J. Reynolds reviewed the volume, representing the joint work of father and daughter, in her department, Under the Study Lamp. Miss Reynolds described the book as "superbly documented and integrated, and etching in beautiful clarity the complete picture of Longfellow and his most notable contribution to the poetry of the continent. . . . Here, too, is the fascinating story of a vital and courageous personality, seen against the colourful drop-curtain of Indian life and lore. . . . Here is history enacted before our very eyes—robust, vivid, rich in incident and detail, adventurous, gay, courageous and withal warmly human. Henry Rowe Schoolcraft comes alive for us in these pages. . . ."

I have to thank my friend, George Laidler, for the loan of the big book which was presented to him by the co-authors a year or so ago. From it, as well as from Dr. Farmer's *History of St. John's* (given me by Mrs. S. C. Thornton, of Ancaster), I have taken much of what appears in this sketch.

As stated earlier, Mrs. Schoolcraft was stricken and died while visiting her sister, Mrs. McMurray, wife of the rector of

Ancaster and Dundas, in the latter place in May, 1842. Her husband, Henry Rowe Schoolcraft, died in Washington, D. C., 22 years later, and was interred in the Congressional Cemetery there. Of him a distinguished Jesuit, Father William Gagnieur, declared: "An extraordinary man and an indefatigable worker. . . . There is not to be found his equal, in many respects, in the history of the United States." . . . Allow me to interject here that Schoolcraft, after touring Europe in 1842, addressed the British Association, London.

To Henry Rowe Schoolcraft we owe the altar-tomb that sadly needs restoration out there in the graveyard of St. John's, Ancaster. No doubt, too, he was the creator of the inscription and tribute in verse now but dimly decipherable. He visited Dundas and Ancaster in October, 1843.

Knowing the need of recutting the letters and repairing the tomb, the author of *Schoolcraft-Longfellow-Hiawatha*—the historically-minded and literary-gifted ex-governor of the state of Michigan—Chase S. Osborn—has sent in a subscription to start a fund for restoration of the monument. The rector, wardens and churchyard committee of St. John's are anxious to augment this by further contributions towards the cost of recutting and repair that will possibly amount to \$350.

It is with the object of assisting this altogether worthy object that your reviewer has written this article.

Subscriptions may be mailed or handed to the Rev. W. A. Brown, St. John's rectory, Ancaster, Ont.

AN INTERESTING ULRICH B. PHILLIPS LETTER

(EDITED BY GEORGE C. OSBORN)

AMONG those who enlisted in Professor Ulrich B. Phillips' class on the History of the Old South at the University of Michigan in the late 1920's was Miss Effie L. Walker of Horn Lake, Mississippi. According to this former student, there were about one hundred members of the class when she took the course. From this large group Dr. Phillips selected about fifteen students, among whom was Miss Walker, to take his seminar on Southern History. This North Mississippi student remembers with much pleasure the associations with her illustrious teacher. "Professor Phillips," she related to the editor, "had traveled extensively in the South in his own car. He had a good sense of humor; his lectures were always interesting; his knowledge of life in the South was thorough and intimate."¹

It was natural for Miss Walker to seek her scholarly professor's advice when within a few months, she decided to restore and modernize her ancestors' original plantation home. This log house was built 1846-1848 by slave labor for Mrs. Mary Motheral Walker whose descendants still make it their home.² The large oak logs were cut and hewn from trees growing on the farm. As was usual in frontier houses of that period, this house is a story and a half in height; there are four log rooms, each nineteen feet square, with two upstairs and two down-stairs which are separated by a wide hallway. The downstairs has a beamed ceiling throughout—the beams are nine and three-fourths inches wide by three inches thick. The unusually large chimney at each end of the house was built of hand made brick.³

In 1928, the family decided to modernize the old house and, to add, among other things, a front porch. Not wishing to violate the architectural spirit of the original log house and not knowing quite how to proceed, advice was sought from Professor Phillips. How freely he gave of his advice and how minutely detailed it was the following letter reveals.

UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

Ann Arbor

History Department
Miss Effie L. Walker
Horn Lake, Miss.
Dear Miss Walker:

Columbia University⁴
New York City
July 31, 1928

In glad compliance with your request for advice I must add a bit of imagination to my meager knowledge.

Your porch must be built as if there were not a sawmill within a day's journey and not a planing mill in the world—a mere shed, utterly simple and unconsciously rustic. Its posts should be the same wood as the logs of the house, four or six inches square and with hewn surfaces—or if hewing is an entirely lost art, the trunks of small trees may be used, with the bark removed. Its joists should be hewn also if practicable, and mortised and pinned, not nailed. And wherever nails must be used they should be wrought or split, and not wire nails. The railing, if any, should be like the joists—or saplings can be used instead—and they should be mortised into the posts. There should be no spindles. The floor should be of wide undressed boards. The roof, (and preferably that of the house also) should [be] of white-oak riven clapboards about three feet long, one foot to the weather, and not of sawed shingles.

The door should be of batten type, of wide undressed boards with its edge beveled (preferably with a jackknife) to remove splinters. The hinges should be hand wrought straps, and the lock a heavy one with a big key. A latch is suggested, but nare a knob.

Don't paint the porch or door, but stain them lightly to imitate the weathered color of the house logs. If there are to be any steps to the porch, they should be short hewn logs.

I should like very much to have a clear, mellow photograph of your house as it stands, available for use as an illustration of a history of the South which I am writing.⁵ The first volume, in which I want to show some homesteads, will go to press before the year's end.⁶

My address will be as above for the next fortnight; thereafter, 1954 Cambridge Road, Ann Arbor, Mich.

It is a great pleasure to know that such a house as yours is to be cherished.

Sincerely yours,
Ulrich B. Phillips

NOTES

1. Interview with Miss Effie L. Walker, September 4, 1945.
2. Miss Effie L. Walker to editor, October 10, 1945.
3. *Ibid.*
4. Professor Ulrich B. Phillips was visiting professor of history at Columbia University for the summer of 1928.
5. The requested picture was never sent. Miss Effie L. Walker to editor, October 10, 1945.
6. Professor Phillips was referring to his delightful *Life and Labor in the Old South* which appeared in May, 1929.

JUNIOR HISTORICAL SOCIETY (INDIANA)

THE Indiana Historical Bureau is sponsoring an effort to revitalize and extend the work of the Junior Historical Society. This society is a federation of high school history clubs begun in 1938. It was represented at the Indiana History Conference in December of that year and at subsequent conferences. It also has held a meeting of its own in the spring of each year.

The war interfered with the activities of the history clubs in various ways. The draft age was lowered, and 17-year-old volunteers were encouraged. Demands were made on the time of high school students for salvage drives, stamp sales, part-time employment, etc. Teachers who had been active sponsors went into the armed forces. Travel restrictions prevented pilgrimages and state meetings. Only the officers of the society attended the History Conference in December, 1944, and no spring meeting was held this year. Membership in many of the clubs dwindled away.

Now with the war over, the Bureau looks forward to an enlarged and more active Junior Historical Society. A committee has been appointed to stimulate and support the organization of history clubs in high schools throughout the state. This committee has appealed by circular letter to social studies teachers to call an organizational meeting of interested students. A model constitution is furnished the teachers as well as a list of suggested projects and activities for a club to undertake. Emphasis was placed on projects that do not require study and writing; thereby it is hoped to make club membership attractive for activities that contrast with the customary school routine.

Members of the committee are Richard Simons, editor of *The Tipton Daily Tribune*, chairman of the Indiana Historical Society's committee on junior historical organizations; Paul Seehausen, of the Department of Public Instruction; Fred Pierpont, social studies teacher and sponsor of the Warren Central History Club; Mary E. Moore, social studies teacher

and sponsor of the club at Arsenal Technical High School, Indianapolis; and Howard H. Peckham, Director of the Historical Bureau.—(From *Indiana History Bulletin*, Nov. 1945)

NOTES FROM *THE STATE AND LOCAL HISTORY NEWS*, PUBLISHED BY THE AMERICAN ASSOCIATION FOR STATE AND LOCAL HISTORY (WASHINGTON, D. C.)

OUT OF THE PAST

AN interesting method of getting glimpses of local history during former eras is to glance at contemporary reports of places, people, and incidents. These may be contained in personal letters, newspapers, or books published at the time. Examples of this procedure are to be seen in the *Missouri Historical Review* and the *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*, both of which have regular sections devoted to quotations from sources dated seventy or more years ago. "Missouri History Not Found in Textbooks" has interesting items from old newspapers, showing clearly the sort of material which may be concealed in the columns of the papers of other periods. "The Illinois Scrapbook" consists of excerpts from early books on the region.

MUSEUM NOTES

The Vermont Historical Society, Montpelier, in September issued an appeal for \$3,000 in order to purchase and restore one of the few remaining log cabins in the State. This structure, erected in 1783 by Jedediah Hyde and occupied until a few years ago, stands in the town of Grand Isle, and is one of the largest and finest of its type.

The last home and burial place of Patrick Henry, "Red Hill," in Charlotte County, Va., has been acquired by the Patrick Henry Memorial Foundation. It is planned to rebuild the house, which was destroyed by fire in 1919, and to furnish it as far as possible with Henry's possessions; and to preserve the original law office.

The birthplace of Booker T. Washington, at Rocky Mount, Va., has been purchased for a memorial to the founder of Tuskegee Institute.

Plans have been formulated to restore six historic estates in Jefferson County, W. Va., and to open them to the public. Three of the places were once owned by nephews of George Washington: "Claymount Court," built in 1820, already restored; "Blakely," also built in 1820, in process of restoration; and "Cedar Lawn," built in 1780. In addition to these, in some 5,000 acres purchased, are "Sulgrave Manor" and "Mordington," once the estate of Charles Washington. It is hoped to acquire "Harewood," home of Samuel Washington, as soon as legal complications permit sale. The project is backed by R. J. Funkhouser, Martinsburg industrialist and newspaper publisher.

The Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society, Columbus, has received State appropriations to extend its chain of historical memorials. It is proposed to acquire the Col. John Johnston Indian Agency house at Piqua, the Harriet Beecher Stowe house in Cincinnati, and the Durbin Ward house at Lebanon.

The little cottage in Galesburg, Ill., where Carl Sandburg was born on January 6, 1878, was recently purchased by admirers of the poet-historian. Efforts are now being made to raise \$5,000 to restore the cottage and also to provide \$30,000 for a maintenance fund.

The old church and village park in the Bishop Hill settlement, Henry County, Ill., are to become State property under provisions of a bill passed by the legislature. Funds have been provided to restore them to their original appearance, and a full-time custodian will be placed in charge. The Bishop Hill colony was founded a century ago by Eric Janson, leader of Swedish refugees from religious persecution.

A bill to purchase temporary housing for the State historical museum was passed at the 1945 session of the Michigan legislature. This will provide headquarters until the development

of the postwar expansion program planned for the State government.

The story of the restoration of the Old Indian Agency House at Portage, Wisconsin, is told in detail by Bertha A. Holbrook in the September issue of the *Wisconsin Magazine of History*. This structure, built by John Harris Kinzie in 1832, and used later as farmhouse and tavern, was bought by the Colonial Dames and is now an important reminder of the early history of that section of the country.

The Idaho legislature has appropriated funds for the erection of a State museum building which will house the library collections and the State archives.

HAVE YOU READ?

"How Can We Improve Our Historical Societies," by Bertha Josephson. *American Archivist*, July. Interesting suggestions.

"The State Archivist Looks to the Future," by Christopher Crittenden. *American Archivist*, July.

"Living Agricultural Museums," by Herbert A. Kellar. *Agricultural History*, July. An address delivered as part of the program of the National Agricultural Jefferson Bicentenary Committee at the University of Virginia, April 13, 1944.

Rhode Island History for October contains the first installment of Dr. Carl R. Woodward's article, "Rural Economy in Rhode Island 200 Years Ago, as Revealed in the Account Books of Warwick, 1733-1740." This is an analysis of old volumes similar to ones in the possession of many historical societies, showing how these records reveal much of the social and economic life of communities in past times.

The Role of Transportation in the Development of Vermont, by William J. Wilgus. Published by the Vermont Historical Society, Montpelier, \$3.00. A study with maps, a chart, and a bibliography.

"Pennsylvania's Historical Program," by S. K. Stevens. *The Pennsylvanian*, August. Condensation of talk by the State Historian before the Pennsylvania Junto, in Washington, July 27, 1945.

"Aid for Historical Societies." *Museum Echoes*, October. Text of the act of the Ohio General Assembly providing for financial assistance for county and local historical societies under certain stated conditions.

"The Local Museum." An editorial in the *Indiana History Bulletin* for August.

"History is Essential." *Indiana History Bulletin*, September. Comment on Harvard University's report on education.

"Where Hoosiers Came From." *Indiana History Bulletin*, October. Brief notes on the places of birth and previous residence of immigrants to Indiana before 1850.

"The Swiss Inn of Vevay, an Old Landmark," by Julie LeClerc Knox. *Indiana Magazine of History*, September.

"Oliver Parks Restores the Jarrot Mansion at Cahokia," by Guy Study. *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*, September. With pictures of the house before and after the restoration.

"On the Preservation and Writing of History," by Marvin A. Miller. *Arkansas Historical Quarterly*. Summer.

THE FARMERS' MUSEUM

THE Farmers' Museum in Cooperstown, New York, represents a new development among museums. It is first of all a depository for early farm implements used or patented by farming folk in the Eastern United States; the emphasis is on Otsego County and New York state. It will also promote the study of agriculture and early farm life from economic and sociological standpoints.

The Farmers' Museum was established to commemorate the first county fair in New York State—held at Cooperstown, October 14, 1817, and sponsored by James Fenimore Cooper and Elkanah Watson. Besides it is a memorial to the late Edward Severin Clark, agriculturist and many times president of the Otsego County Agricultural Society. It is administered by the New York State Historical Association, which

also maintains its Central Quarters Museum and main office in Cooperstown.

Local reaction has been very favorable. The Museum is continually receiving gifts of material from farmers in central New York. Since July, when doors were opened, there have been five hundred visitors, of whom three out of four have been farmers—most of them from the region, although some have come from far points in the United States.

The museum will have a library which may become a research center for students of agriculture, horticulture, and the history of farming implements. Through the specialized library and objective museum displays, an interpretation of American life in its simplest days will be offered in a dignified and appreciative form. Here living records will be preserved in the form of objects and the written word so that our public may gain perspective—understand the struggles and hardships through which our ancestors passed, and see how much could have been alleviated through present knowledge of the soil.

The grounds and plant form a natural setting. Twenty-five acres of land are included in the museum property, part of an operating dairy farm until 1940. At one end is a natural amphitheater where folk plays and community meetings may be held. The entire buildings face the local golf course, beyond which is Otsego Lake.

The two story stone cattle barn has been converted into two major exhibition halls, 147 x 42 feet. The upper portion, originally used for grain storage, is now housing plows, hop picking equipment, scythes, harrows, reapers, sowers, winnowing baskets, fanning mills, and wooden rakes. The World's Fair model of the McCormick reaper is one of the featured displays. The lower portion has been painted, the barn floor leveled off, and the stanchions removed. This has left a room with low ceiling, twenty-four windows, and five doors of which three swing wide in the top half to admit light and air. It is here that exhibits opened to the public during July and August of this year were placed. In the center of the room are solid

wooden partitions, five feet three inches in height, which furnish display space on their painted surfaces and tops. Partitions of this height allow a vista of the entire room from each end. The craft shops are in the alcoves thus formed.

The panels between the windows are hung with American genre paintings from the collection of Stephen Carlton Clark, sponsor of the museum. These feature the work of E. L. Henry, Eastman Johnson, Tompkins H. Matteson, Theodore Robinson, James Clonney and George H. Durrie. Other panels carry county fair broadsides or act as display background units. One of the most important paintings is Durrie's *Cider Mill in the Country*.

The shop alcoves, housing many of the 4,500 accessioned items, have been opened first because those collections could be classified and partially labeled during the winter months when the main halls were unheated. The collection of William B. Sprague (founder of the Early American Industries Association), made up of home industrial and craft implements, forms a major part of this group. Here may be read the stories of the lumberer, builder, carpenter, shingle maker, cooper, cobbler, tanner, blacksmith, harness maker, roofer, tinsmith, glove maker, straw and felt hat maker, comb maker, basket and broom makers, the syrup industry and the wheelwright. Not only are shown the tools which these people used, but many of the tools that made the implements. Each display runs from left to right, but the general progression of exhibits is counterclockwise.

The vehicle collection is unique in many ways. One feature is a carriage that belonged to LaFayette, and came from him through Alexander Hamilton to Judge William Cooper, founder of Cooperstown and father of the novelist James Fenimore Cooper. There are goose neck sleighs, ox carts, hop pickers' wagons, a conestoga wagon, stage coach, racing cutters, fire engines, ox-tread threshing machines, and carriages of all types. Some of these may seem inappropriate for a Farmers' Museum, but the eventual village plan will show uses for them

all. A band wagon, seating ten instrumentalists, will be used for outdoor concerts in one of the rear courts.

Eating facilities will be provided by an old time tavern and a small kitchen under the stairs. The tavern lies at the end of the main exhibition hall, and at the head of the former milk track which is now a low picture corridor. It overlooks both rear courts and will provide a central spot to rest and refresh.

Lighting of all exhibits is by daylight which comes through the many windows and divided doors. Temporary spotlights will be installed in dark corners for use and to eliminate hazards. Simple painted backgrounds are used, with some color on supporting columns and in the exhibits. The atmosphere of the farm will be retained, as much as possible, even though a pioneer bedroom and kitchen and weaving room may be introduced.

The village green is directly south of the main barn. Nestled against a hill the country store, smith, district school house, pioneer cabin, grist and saw mill, all part of the ultimate plan, will present an attractive appearance. The stone store, erected in 1820 and used for many years at Toddsville, three miles south of Cooperstown, is now being rebuilt on the site. Installation of the interior must wait until next spring, as the building is not heated.

The main strength of this plan is its local and regional emphasis. Many museums go too far afield for material, thus losing much effectiveness.—*Janet R. MacFarlane, Curator; Acting Director of the New York State Historical Association, in The Museum News, published by the American Association of Museums, Washington, D. C.*

CORRECTION

DR. ROBERT T. HATT of the Cranbrook Institute of Science has called attention to some errors in the list of Officers of the Midwest Museums Conference of the American Association of Museums published in the January-March issue of the Magazine. The correct list is as follows:

President—Robert T. Hatt, Bloomfield Hills, Michigan

Vice-president for Michigan, Willard C. Wichers, Holland, Michigan

Vice-president for Illinois, Paul Angle, Chicago, Ill.

Vice-president for Ohio, Bruno Gebhard, Cleveland, Ohio

Vice-president for Indiana, Vern Patty, Indianapolis, Ind.

Vice-president for Wisconsin, W. C. McKern, Milwaukee, Wisconsin

Editor of the *Quarterly*, Mrs. Virginia S. Eifert, Springfield, Ohio.

NOTES CONCERNING THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES

THE Eleventh Annual Report of the Archivist of the United States for the fiscal year 1944-45, just published, describes the part played by the National Archives in handling records problems at home and abroad during the last full year of World War II. With the smallest staff it had had since 1938, the agency could not deal as effectively as it might have with the ever-increasing mass of Government records. Major attention was given to the war agencies likely to be terminated soon after the end of hostilities. By accessioning their valuable records, facilitating the disposal of those no longer of value, and planning for the eventual disposition of all their files, the records of war agencies were brought under some measure of control. Altogether, from "old-line as well as emergency agencies, the National Archives received nearly 74,000 cubic feet of records during the year, bringing the total in the custody of the Archivist on June 30, 1945, to more than 689,000 cubic feet. Reference service still had to be rendered on a restricted basis but a number of special services, such as furnishing information and assistance to the military authorities in the protection and utilization of records in occupied areas, were performed. Copies of the **Eleventh Annual Report** may be obtained upon request. Another publication of the National Archives recently issued is **Putting Paw to Bed; The Records Retirement Program of the Petroleum Administration for War**, by Frances Bourne.

Now that the war is over the National Archives can once again take orders for file microcopies. The program to reproduce on microfilm bodies of records of outstanding research value and to provide positive prints to the public at cost was begun in 1940 but was hampered by

wartime reductions in staff and the scarcity of materials. Nevertheless, during the past 5 years some 1,400 rolls of file microcopies have been made. Among the file microcopies completed are the following: population schedules of the Census of 1830 for Alabama, Arkansas, Delaware, the District of Columbia, Florida, Georgia, Illinois, Mississippi, New York, North Carolina, and Tennessee; records of the Office of Indian Affairs, consisting of letters sent by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1824-69, registers of letters received, 1824-80, records of the Oregon Superintendency of Indian Affairs, 1848-73, and records of the Washington Superintendency of Indian Affairs, 1853-74; and records of the Department of State, consisting of consular and diplomatic instructions, 1791-1834, despatches from United States ministers to Great Britain, 1792-1870, despatches from United States ministers to France, 1789-1870, and registers of correspondence, 1870-1906.

The National Archives and the Maryland Hall of Records are again cooperating in the presentation of an intensive training course on the preservation and administration of archives to be offered by the American University, Washington, D. C., from June 17 to July 6, although students may elect to remain an additional week to work on projects. This short course will consist of lectures and laboratory work and will give special consideration to the problems of small institutions. It will be conducted by Ernst Posner, Professor of History and Archival Administration of the American University, Morris L. Radoff, Archivist of the Maryland Hall of Records, and members of the staffs of the Maryland Hall of Records and the National Archives. The fee for the course, which carries three semester hours' credit, is \$40, and tentative registration must be completed by May 15.

NOTES CONCERNING THE FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT LIBRARY
AT HYDE PARK, N. Y.

The Franklin D. Roosevelt Library has acquired 18 notebooks of Franklin Roosevelt containing schoolboy exercises and compositions in writing, grammar, arithmetic, history, French, and German, done during the years 1890-93, when their author was from 8 to 11 years old. With the notebooks was received a record of the grades earned by him in these subjects, kept by his governess during the period in question and enlivened by her comments on the progress of her charge. A stenographic transcription of a little-known extemporaneous talk by Mr. Roosevelt on the subject of religionism in its relation to State planning, delivered at the University of Virginia's Institute of Public Affairs, in Charlottesville on July 6, 1931, has been received from Mr. Clarence Ascher of New York. The Library has also acquired a type-script of a 65-page manuscript memoir of Mr. Roosevelt written by Mrs. Charles

S. Hamlin of Albany, a life-long friend of the late President. The Order of Ahepa has given the Library a heroic-size bronze bust of President Roosevelt done by Walter Russell, which was unveiled October 28 in a ceremony attended by officials and members of the Order, Mrs. Roosevelt, and Attorney General Tom Clark.

Mrs. Roosevelt has given the Library additional material including certain of her personal White House domestic account books, messages of condolence on the death of her husband, letters protesting aspersions made on President Roosevelt's conduct of the war, and an oil painting of her husband by C. C. Beall, which is the original of the poster-portrait used in the Victory Loan drive.

SELECTED ITEMS FROM OUR EXCHANGES

The American Archivist, January, 1946: "Treatment of Fire and Water Damaged Records," by Adelaide E. Minogue.

Bulletin of The Business Historical Society, November, 1945: "Records of Little Businesses as Sources of Social and Economic History," by T. D. Clark; "Why Write Company Histories?"—December: "An Old-Time Novel About Business," by N. S. B. Gras.

The Canadian Historical Review, December, 1945: "The First Journalists in Upper Canada," by W. S. Wallace; "Some of Cartier's Place-Names, 1535-1536," by Percy J. Robinson.

The Mississippi Valley Historical Review, December, 1945: "A Crusade for Indian Reform, 1922-1934," by Randolph C. Downes; "The Controversy Over the Admission of the State of Oregon," by Henry H. Simms; "History—A Science?" by Clarence P. Gould.

The Catholic Historical Review, January, 1946: "Catholic Archives of the United States," by Thomas F. O'Connor.

The Colorado Magazine, January, 1946: "Railroad Conflicts in Colorado in the Eighties," by William S. Jackson.

Bulletin of the Detroit Historical Society, February, 1946: "Amusements In Territorial Detroit," by Pauline Joan Ullrich.

The Georgia Historical Quarterly, December, 1945: "Party Organization in Georgia Politics, 1825-1853," by Paul Murray; "A Conference on Michigan Politics at the Little White House, Warm Springs, Georgia," by Stellanova Osborn.

Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society, December, 1945: "From Log Cabin to Sod House," by Edward Everett Dale; "Illinois, Host to Well-Known Nineteenth Century Authors," by Robert R. Hubach.

Indiana Magazine of History, December, 1945: "Music in Indianapolis, 1821-1900," by Martha F. Bellinger; "Indiana—Hell Bent for Election," by Harvey L. Carter; "Crime and Crinoline," by Bessie K. Roberts.

The Palimpsest, December, 1945: "Prologue to Statehood," by William J. Petersen.

The Annals of Iowa, January, 1946: "As Iowa Approached Statehood," by Emory H. English; "Northern Iowa One Hundred Years Ago," by O. H. Raleigh.

The Kansas Historical Quarterly, November, 1945: "The Battle of Kansas"; "Pike's Peak Express Companies: Part III—The Platte Route," by George A. Root and Russell K. Hickman.

The Register of the Kentucky State Historical Society, January, 1946: "The Kentucky Boundary," by Bayless E. Hardin.

The Louisiana Historical Quarterly, October, 1945: "The Neutral Ground Between Louisiana and Texas, 1806-1821," by Villasana Haggard.

The Maryland Historical Magazine, December, 1945: "Port Tobacco, Lost Town of Maryland," by Ethel Roby Hayden; "Discovery of the Chesapeake Bay," by Louis Dow Scisco; "Politics in Maryland During the Civil War," (continued), by Charles Branch Clark.

Mid-America, January, 1946: "The Discovery of the Mississippi-Secondary Sources," by Jean Delanglez.

Missouri Historical Review, January, 1946: "Mark Twain's Florida Years," by George Ivan Bidewell; "The Road West in 1818, The Diary of Henry Vest Bingham," edited by Marie George Windell; "The Steamboat, Playground of St. Louis in the Fifties," by Laura Langehennig.

New Mexico Historical Review, January, 1946: "A Navaho Struggle for Land," by Frank D. Reeve; "New Mexico Constitutional Convention," by Reuben W. Heflin.

The New York Historical Society Quarterly, January, 1946: "Ships' Figureheads in and about New York," by George A. Zabriskie.

Bulletin of The New York Public Library, January, 1946: "Books in Search of Children," by Louise Seaman Bechtel; "The Surnames of Scotland," by George F. Black.

The North Carolina Historical Review, October, 1945: "The Salt Supply of North Carolina During the American Revolution," by R. L. Hildrup; "North Carolinians in Illinois History," by Jay Monaghan.

Northwest Ohio Quarterly, January, 1946: "The German Element in Toledo," by Stephen J. Bartha; "The Siege of Fort Meigs, Year 1813," by Colonel Alexander Bourne.

Oregon Historical Quarterly, December, 1945: "Oregon Geographic Names: Additions Since 1944," by Lewis A. McArthur.

Pacific Northwest Quarterly, January, 1946: "Audio-Visual Aids for Pacific Northwest History," by Robert G. Virgin.

The Pennsylvania Magazine, January, 1946: "Philadelphia During the Civil War, 1861-1865," by Winnifred K. MacKay.

The Junior Historian, October, 1945: This Issue is Dedicated to Commemorate the Two Hundredth Anniversary of the Birth of Anthony Wayne on January 1, 1745, at "Waynesborough," Chester County, Pennsylvania.

Rhode Island History, January, 1946: "Schooner R. W. Comstock, Jr.;" "George H. Corliss of Providence, Inventor," by Robert S. Holding; "The Pageant of Benefit Street Down Through the Years," by George L. Miner; "The Hard Winter of 1740."

The Social Studies for Teachers and Administrators, January, 1946: "The Liberal and Useful Arts," by Norma Harvester; "Revised Historical Viewpoints," by Ralph B. Guinness; "The American Press, A Mirror of the Times," by Marjorie De Yonker;—*February*: "A Moral and Psychological Basis for Democracy and Peace," by Ralph B. Guinness; "Political Education for the Atomic Age," by Walter E. Myer; "The Business of Education in a Democracy," by William S. Miller.

The Journal of Politics, November, 1945: "The Future of German Finance," by Albert Lauterbach.

The Journal of Southern History, November, 1945: "The Southern Experiment in Writing Social History," by Charles S. Sydnor; "The Political Thinking of George Washington," by Harold W. Bradley; "Propaganda in the Confederacy," by James W. Silver; "The Bourbon Period in Mississippi Politics, 1875-1890," by (Miss) Willie D. Halsell.

The Southwestern Historical Quarterly, January, 1946: "Dime Novel Texas; or, the Sub-Literature of the Lone Star State," by J. C. Dykes; "Amelia Barr in Texas, 1856-1868," by Paul Adams; "Masonry in the Early Days of Texas," by Joseph W. Hale.

Tennessee Historical Quarterly, December, 1945: "The Admission of Tennessee into the Union," by Samuel C. Williams; "The Political Satires of George W. Harris," by Donald Day.

Utah Historical Quarterly, July, October, 1944: "A History of Southern Utah and Its National Parks," by Angus M. Woodbury.

West Virginia History, January, 1946: "The Origin of Place Names in West Virginia," by Lewis H. Chrisman.

The William and Mary Quarterly, October, 1945: "Some Genial Old Drinking Customs," by Marie Kimball; "The Influence of Princeton on Higher Education in the South Before 1825," by Donald Robert Come.

Wisconsin Magazine of History, December, 1945: "Motherhood on the Wisconsin Frontier (1)," by Lillian Krueger; "Sacred Heart College of Prairie du Chien, 1880-1888," by W. B. Faherty; "A Pioneer Beet Sugar Refinery," by W. A. Titus.

Annals of Wyoming, January, 1946: "History of Fort Francis E. Warren," by Jane R. Kendall.

In Memoriam

ORLA B. TAYLOR

ORLA B. TAYLOR, honorary president of the Detroit Historical Society and in the 1930's a trustee of the State Historical Society of Michigan, died in December 1945 while the winter issue of the Magazine was in press.

At the time of his death Mr. Taylor was 80 years old. While active president of the Detroit society he was decorated with the French Legion of Honor for his Napoleonic research. A set of signatures of Napoleon and of each of his marshals, collected by Mr. Taylor, was presented by him to the University of Michigan. He also donated a group of rare law books, some of very early date. In 1933 the University conferred the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws on Mr. Taylor.

Mr. Taylor was born in Fowlerville, in Livingston County. He received his degree of L.L.B. from the University in 1886. He was a member of Phi Beta Kappa and Sigma Chi.

In 1891 he married Dorothea de Tromble of Detroit. Until 1919 he practiced corporation law there, retiring in that year from active practice, when he and Mrs. Taylor began their world travels. In the next 15 years they visited almost every point of the globe, and Mr. Taylor wrote and published extensively about these trips.

Members of the State Historical Society will recall his distinguished part in the Society's program at the annual meeting of 1939 in the Senate Chamber at the Capitol when Mr. and Mrs. Henry Ford were present and Governor Dickinson spoke, in memory of the pioneers of Michigan.

AUGUSTUS C. CARTON

AUGUSTUS C. CARTON, late a member of the Michigan Historical Commission and a past president of the State Historical Society, passed away at his home in Lansing on February 3. He died suddenly of a heart attack, at the age of 75.

Born on a farm in Genesee County, Mr. Carton took an interest in Governmental affairs at an early age and devoted his entire life to various departments of the state. His long public career was begun as a messenger in the senate in 1885. In 1905 he was elected state senator from the 28th district while a resident of East Tawas, and at the time of his death was serving as chairman of the Great Lakes Tidewater Commission and as secretary of the State Farm Board. Only the preceding January he had retired from his position as director of State Fairs but retained his post as Secretary of the County Fair Association. He had been connected with the State Department of Agriculture since 1922, having served as assistant commissioner, deputy commissioner, and as director of the Bureau of Agriculture. Mr. Carton was the last state land commissioner, which came about as a result of his sponsoring a bill to abolish his own job when he felt that position had fulfilled its purpose.

Because of Mr. Carton's wide knowledge and experience in the fields of government in which he devoted his life, he was called upon frequently to speak before various groups throughout the state. His genial personality and his strict fairness to all sides of a question made him a persuasive and convincing speaker. Few men in public life over such a long period had so many devoted friends as did Mr. Carton.

CLAUDE S. LARZELERE

Remarks on the Life and Career of Claude S. Larzelere before the Algonquin Club, Windsor, February 15, 1946, by R. Clyde Ford.

KNEW Claude Larzelere almost sixty years. Our boyhood was spent in adjacent counties in southern Michigan. When the school years came our paths diverged, but nevertheless we met and swapped reminiscences once a year at least, and now and then our families visited back and forth.

Claude Larzelere had a good college training for his life work—Michigan State Normal College, University of Michigan, post graduate courses and a degree at Harvard. In order to broaden his outlook he spent two summers of study in Oxford. But his school training did not make him a pedant—he retained to the end of his days a friendly, sympathetic, middle-class relationship with his fellow men.

After some years in the public schools of the state he was elected in 1910 professor of history and political science in the Central State Teachers College at Mt. Pleasant and there labored in his chosen field till his retirement. He died in Detroit, January 20, 1946, on his 80th birthday. Mrs. Larzelere had preceded him in death by a few years.

The qualities that endeared him to his friends were the qualities that made him popular and successful as a teacher. He was scholarly, versatile, understanding and agreeable. There was no snobbishness about him. His own humble beginnings made him sympathetic toward any student who was ambitious in his poverty.

He must be counted a successful teacher; he was able to discover talent and stimulate to endeavor. Inspired by his career, his students went on to careers of their own.

For many years he was in great demand over the counties of the state as a lecturer before Teachers Institutes, now an almost forgotten device for the promotion of solidarity, co-operation, and general *esprit de corps* among rural and small town teachers. He was active in organizing and sustaining

history groups, and for years was a member of the State Historical Society.

His teaching, however, was not his only interest—he was also a public-minded citizen, an enthusiastic worker for civic and neighborhood improvement. For ten years he was president of the school board in Mt. Pleasant; he served as a member of the city council; he worked on committees to revise the city charter; he was president of the Rotary club; he was vice-president of a bank; he was an influential member of the Presbyterian church. So many college professors are not really human beings; he aspired to scholarship and competency in the classroom, but also to a place in the human relations of his community.

His home life was ideal. Mrs. Larzelere never lost her girlhood zest of life and her husband vied with her in the promotion of happiness in the home and out of it.

Claude Larzelere is dead at the age of 80, leaving children to revere his memory, and friends and students overwhelmed with bereavement. Such is not an unworthy end to the life and career of a man, and Claude Larzelere was every inch a man. God rest his soul.

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MICHIGAN'S GOLD STAR RECORD: WORLD WAR I.

(For the beginning of this Series, see the Winter issue of the Magazine for 1943).

GILBERT CORSON (2982809), Private, 310th Trench Mortar Battery, 85th Division. Son of William H. and Hattie (Forney) Corson, Grand Rapids. Born Feb. 1, 1894 at Grand Rapids. Railway conductor. Single. Inducted into Camp Custer June 24, 1918. Assigned to the 310th Trench Mortar Battery. Overseas with the 85th Division. Died of disease Dec. 11, 1918 at Toul, France. Residence at enlistment: Grand Rapids, Kent County.

SCOTT D. CORTRITE, Corporal, Company B, 329th Machine Gun Battalion, 85th Division. Son of Mary (Moreland) Cortrite-Brown, Plymouth. Born Aug. 12, 1887 at Plymouth. Laborer. Single. Inducted into U. S. service at Camp Custer, Sept. 21, 1917. Assigned to 329th Machine Gun Battalion. Died of pneumonia Mar. 30, 1918 at Base Hospital, Camp Custer. Buried at Ypsilanti, Mich. Residence at enlistment: Plymouth, Wayne County.

CHARLES HENRY CORY, 1st Class Sergeant, Battery A, 40th Field Artillery, 14th Division. Son of Riley E. Cory, Lansing and Hattie E. Cory (deceased). Born May 21, 1892 at Gowen, Mich. Electrician. Enlisted in U. S. Marine Corps Aug. 20, 1913. Honorably discharged Aug. 25, 1917. Single. Inducted into Camp Custer July 25, 1918. Assigned to 17th Company, 5th Battalion, 160th Depot Brigade. Transferred Aug. 21, 1918 to Battery A, 40th Field Artillery. Transferred Oct. 30, 1918 to Camp Zachary Taylor, Louisville, Ky., as a candidate in the Central Officer's Training School. Sergeant Cory was accidentally killed while on review by being crushed when his horse pirouetted and fell. Died a short time later at Base Hospital, Camp Taylor, Nov. 12, 1918. Buried at Greenville, Mich. Residence at enlistment: Lansing, Ingham County.

HOWARD COTTON, (Colored), Private, Headquarters Company, 368th Infantry, 92nd Division. Born Apr. 6, 1892 at Pittsburgh, Penna. Chauffeur. Married May 15, 1916 at Detroit to Ella Anderson who was born May 11, 1887 at Detroit. Survived by a daughter, Grace, born Mar. 6, 1917. Inducted into Camp Custer July 26, 1918. Assigned to Headquarters Company, 368th Infantry. Overseas. Died Jan. 30, 1919 in France. Residence at enlistment: Detroit, Wayne County.

JOHN COTTONE (2984613), Private, 2nd Battalion, 160th Depot Brigade. Born in 1891 at Raelmot, Italy. Inducted into Camp Custer June 25, 1918. Assigned to the 22nd Company, 6th Battalion, 160th

Depot Brigade. Transferred to the 2nd Battalion with which unit he served until his death from broncho pneumonia Oct. 5, 1918 at Base Hospital, Camp Custer. Residence at enlistment: Jackson, Jackson County.

FRED H. COTTRELL, Private, Headquarters, 168th Ambulance Company, 117th Sanitary Train, 42nd Division. Entered U. S. military service in the Michigan National Guard and was transferred to Headquarters, 168th Ambulance Company, 117th Sanitary Train for service in France. Served with the immortal Rainbow Division to the close of the war. Died of disease Dec. 29, 1918 in France. Accredited by the War Department to Michigan.

GILBERT F. COTY (2698258), Private, Battery F, 333rd Field Artillery, 86th Division. Son of Frederick Coty, (address unknown) and Marie E. Coty-Smith, Lakefield. Born July 29, 1893 at Lakefield. Single. Entered U. S. service June 15, 1918 at Ann Arbor, Mich. Transferred to Camp Grant, Ill., and later to Camp Robinson, Wis. Assigned to 333rd Field Artillery. Overseas. Died of influenza and pneumonia at Glasgow, Scotland, Oct. 5, 1918. Residence at enlistment: Merrill, Saginaw County.

RANDALL COUCHMAN (1044624), Mechanic, Battery E, 19th Field Artillery, 5th Division. Son of George (deceased) and Effie Couchman, Three Oaks. Born Dec. 24, 1884 at Rolling Prairie, Ind. Single. Entered U. S. service June 2, 1917 at Ft. Thomas, Ky. Assigned to the 19th Field Artillery. Overseas May 25th, 1918. Died of disease Aug. 27, 1918 in France. Residence at enlistment: Three Oaks, Berrien County.

JOHN J. COUGHLIN (2051479), Private, Company F, 18th Infantry, 1st Division. Son of Gerrett William and Minnie Sophia Coughlin, St. Joseph. Born Feb. 9, 1893 at Bloomington, Ill. Farmer. Single. Inducted into U. S. military service May 25, 1918 at Camp Custer where he was trained for service in Company D, 339th Infantry, 85th Division. Overseas. Transferred as a replacement to Company F, 18th Infantry. Died of lobar pneumonia Sept. 9, 1918 at U. S. Base Hospital, France. Residence at enlistment: Three Oaks, Berrien County.

TIMOTHY J. COUGHLIN (2031826), Private, Company D, 310th Engineers, 85th Division. Son of Daniel J. Coughlin, Erie, Penna. (mother deceased). Born Jan. 2, 1893 at Erie. Single. Inducted into U. S. military service at Camp Custer Sept. 19, 1917. Assigned to Company D, 310th Engineers in the organization of the 85th Division. Trained at Camp Custer and was transported with his Company overseas. Served with his unit when it was assigned to the 5th and 7th Army Corps

respectively during the Meuse-Argonne Offensive. Died of disease Jan. 21, 1919 at Trier, Germany while serving in the Army of Occupation. Residence at enlistment: Detroit, Wayne County.

THOMAS R. COUTURE (450948), Private, Company E, 56th Infantry, 7th Division. Son of Frank Couture, Detroit, and Vina Couture (deceased). Born May 18, 1895 at Detroit. U. S. Mail Carrier. Single. Inducted into U. S. military service at Camp McArthur, Tex., May 10, 1918. Assigned to Company E, 56th Infantry. Overseas Aug. 1918, with the 7th Division, with which unit he served until his death, which occurred in action Nov. 7, 1918 in the great Meuse-Argonne Offensive. Residence at enlistment: Detroit, Wayne County.

BERNARD COUTURIER (2981975), Private, Company A, 4th Infantry, 3rd Division. Son of David and Ledivine Couturier, Provemont. Born June 10, 1895 at Centerville, Leelanau County. Farmer. Single. Inducted into Camp Custer June 23, 1918. Assigned to Company D, 340th Infantry. Overseas with the 85th Division. Transferred as a replacement to Company A, 4th Infantry. Engaged in the St. Mihiel operations and in the Meuse-Argonne Offensive where he was killed in action Oct. 2, 1918 at the very outset of the advance of the 2nd Regulars against the Bois de Cunel and Hill No. 299. Residence at enlistment: Provemont, Leelanau County.

RICHARD LE ROY COVERT (280894), Sergeant, Company K, 126th Infantry, 32nd Division. Son of Richard and Nora (Miller) Covert, Grand Rapids. Born June 22, 1896 at Sparta. Carpenter. Married July 18, 1917 at Grand Rapids to Magdeline Heering who was born April 17, 1895 at Grand Rapids. Survived by a daughter, Ardith Marie, born Nov. 23, 1917. Served as Mess Sergeant, Company K, 32nd Infantry, Michigan National Guard. Mustered into U. S. military service July 15, 1917 at Grand Rapids. Assigned to Company K, 126th Infantry in the organization of the 32nd Division at Camp McArthur, Texas. Overseas with the Red Arrow Division, with which unit he continued during the summer of 1918. Killed in action Oct. 14, 1918 in the breaking of the Kriemhilde Stellung of the Hindenburg Line, during the Meuse-Argonne Offensive. Residence at enlistment: Grand Rapids, Kent County.

ANDREW H. COWAN, Private, Company E, 28th Infantry, 1st Division. Son of Alexander J. and Sarah J. Cowan, Belmont. Born Aug. 29, 1895 at Rockford. Farmer. Single. Entered U. S. military service May 5, 1917 at Columbus Barracks, Ohio. Assigned to Company E, 28th Infantry. Overseas with the 1st Division. Died of pulmonary tuberculosis, Apr. 5, 1918 in Base Hospital No. 8, Savenoy, France. Residence at enlistment: Belmont, Kent County.

JOSEPH ROBERT COWLEY (280030), Private, Company F, 126th Infantry, 32nd Division. Son of (Father deceased. Name unknown.) and Emma Cowley, Jackson. Born May 10, 1899 at Jackson. Single. Enlisted Aug. 4, 1917 in Company L, 31st Infantry, Michigan National Guard. Assigned to Company F, 126th Infantry in the reorganization of the National Guard at Waco, Texas. Overseas with the Red Arrow Division. Served in the Alsace Sector and in the Aisne-Marne Offensive, where he was killed in action Aug. 2, 1918 in the drive from the Ourcq to the Vesle River. Residence at enlistment: Jackson, Jackson County.

CLYDE CRABTREE (2980571), Private, Company A, 4th Infantry, 3rd Division. Son of Charles Crabtree (deceased) and Lena (Parshall) Crabtree-Thumser, White Cloud. Born July 5, 1894 at White Cloud. Farmer. Single. Entered U. S. military service at Camp Custer June 4, 1918. Assigned to Company B, 340th Infantry. Trained and was transported overseas with the 85th Division. Transferred to Company A, 4th Infantry as a replacement. Served in the St. Mihiel and Meuse-Argonne Offensive. Killed in action Oct. 12, 1918 in the latter Offensive. Residence at enlistment: White Cloud, Newaygo County.

ROBERT NELSON CRAIDGE (263244), Corporal, Company I, 125th Infantry, 32nd Division. Son of Nelson and Eleanor Craidge, Saginaw. Born Aug. 20, 1893 at St. Charles. Employee of Bonsfield & Co., Bay City. Single. Enlisted June 23, 1916 in Company B, 33rd Infantry, Michigan National Guard. Transferred to Company I, 125th Infantry in the formation of the 32nd Division at Camp McArthur, Texas. Overseas with the Red Arrow Division, with which unit he served in the Alsace Sector and in the Aisne-Marne Offensive until Aug. 1, 1918, when he was killed in the attack upon Fismes, near Cierges. Decorated by the French Government with the Croix de Guerre and Palm and by the U. S. Government with the Distinguished Service Cross for gallantry in action. Residence at enlistment: Bay City, Bay County.

FRANK R. CRAIG (2052399), Private, Company K, 16th Infantry, 1st Division. Inducted into military service where he was trained for service in France. Transported overseas and was assigned as a replacement to Company K, 16th Infantry. Served with the 1st Regulars in the Meuse-Argonne Offensive where he was killed in action Oct. 4, 1918 during the advance east of the Aire Valley against Fleville, Exermont, and the difficult country surrounding. Accredited by the War Department to Michigan.

HAROLD H. CRAIN (857523), Private, Troop M, 11th Cavalry. Son of Frank D. Crain, Pointville, N. J. (mother deceased). Single. Entered U. S. military service June 7, 1917. Assigned to Troop M, 11th Cavalry.

Camp Tecate, San Diego, Calif. Died of pneumonia Dec. 13, 1918 at Camp Tecate. Residence at enlistment: Detroit, Wayne County.

LOUIS CRANDALL (2047322), Private, Company C, 26th Infantry, 1st Division. Parents deceased. Born May 15, 1888 at Saginaw. Married Apr. 13, 1918 at Saginaw to Elizabeth Hainer who was born Nov. 28, 1898 at Burt. Entered U. S. military service at Camp Custer Apr. 30, 1918. Trained at Camp Custer and was transported overseas with the 85th Division. Transferred as a replacement to Company C, 26th Infantry. Served with the 1st Regulars in the Meuse-Argonne Offensive where he was killed in action Oct. 5, 1918 in the advance east of the Aire Valley against Fleville. Residence at enlistment: Saginaw, Saginaw County.

MELVIN LAFAYETTE CRANDALL (302405), Private, Company D, 168th Infantry, 42nd Division. Son of Wesley A. and Amy S. (Tiffany) Crandall, Pittsford. Born Jan. 25, 1893 at Pittsford. Jeweler. Single. Inducted into Camp Custer Nov. 26, 1917. Transferred to Camp Merritt, N. J., and was assigned to Company D, 168th Infantry. Overseas with the Rainbow Division March 12, 1918. Served in the Luneville and Baccarat Sectors and in the Champagne-Marne Defensive with the 4th French Army. Killed in action July 27, 1918 during the Aisne-Marne Offensive in the advance against Croix Rouge Ferme and Sergy. Residence at enlistment: Hudson, Lenawee County.

RAY W. CRANDALL (2041309), Private, Company F, 310th Engineers, 85th Division. Born Sept. 7, 1893 in Eaton County. Farmer. Single. Inducted into Camp Custer where he was assigned to Company F, 310th Engineers in the organization of the 85th Division. Trained with the 85th Division and was transported overseas to France where he continued in service to the close of the war. Died of disease Feb. 6, 1919. Residence at enlistment: Portland, Ionia County.

RALPH V. CRANE (4725622), Private, 36th Company, 9th Battalion, 160th Depot Brigade. Son of George W. Crane, Ypsilanti. Born 1889 at Ypsilanti. Inducted into U. S. military service Sept. 20, 1918 at Camp Custer where he was assigned to the 36th Company, 9th Battalion, 160th Depot Brigade. Died of broncho-pneumonia Oct. 11, 1918 at Base Hospital, Camp Custer. Residence at enlistment: Ypsilanti, Washtenaw County.

D. O. CRANSTON, 2nd Lieutenant, Veterinary Corps. Son of Elmer E. and Sarah A. Cranston, St. Johns. Born Aug. 5, 1887 at Tyrone, Livingston County. Veterinary surgeon. Married Mar. 31, 1915 at Concord to Agnes Sayles who was born Dec. 14, 1893 at Iosco. Entered

U. S. service at the Agricultural College, East Lansing, Sept. 1918. Ordered transferred to Camp Lee, Va., Oct. 29, 1918 but died the same day at East Lansing. Residence at enlistment: St. Johns, Clinton County.

HENRY INMAN CRAWFORD (262780), Private, Company G, 126th Infantry, 32nd Division. Son of William (deceased) and Ida M. Crawford, Hillman. Born March 30, 1887 in Presque Isle County. Farmer. Single. Entered U.S. service June 1, 1917 at Fort Wayne, Detroit. Assigned to Company G, 33rd Infantry, Michigan National Guard. Assigned to Company G, 126th Infantry, in the organization of the 32nd Division at Camp McArthur, Texas. Overseas with the Michigan-Wisconsin Division, Feb. 24, 1918. Transferred to the 128th Infantry when the Division was designated as a combat unit. Served on the Alsace-Lorraine front in the Aisne-Marne and Oisne-Aisne Offensives, where he was wounded in the attack upon Juvigny. Returned to his unit and took part in the attack upon the Meuse-Argonne where he was killed in action Oct. 17, 1918. Residence at enlistment: Green Township, Alpena County.

WALTER CRELLIN, Private, 158th Aero Squadron. Entered U. S. Air Service in the Regular Army. Trained and was transported overseas where he was killed in action Feb. 5, 1918 in France. Accredited by the War Department to Michigan.

CLYDE JOHN CRISE, Private, 46th Company, 12th Training Battalion, 159th Depot Brigade. Son of Chester B. Crise, Howe, Ind. and Amanda C. (Gonter) Crise (deceased). Born Apr. 5, 1890 at Howe. Mill operator, Peninsular Cement Company, Cement City. Married Sept. 13, 1918 at Jackson, Mich. to Julia Jeanne Griffith, who was born Dec. 31, 1900 at Hammond, Ind. Inducted into Camp Custer and was transferred to Camp Taylor, Ky., May 25, 1918. Assigned to the 46th Company, 159th Depot Brigade. Died of pneumonia Oct. 12, 1918 at Camp Taylor. Buried in Ontario Cemetery, Lagrange County, Ind. Residence at enlistment: Cement City, Lenawee County.

JESSE LEE CRIST (280204), Corporal, Company G, 126th Infantry, 32nd Division. Entered U. S. service in the Michigan National Guard and was assigned to Company G, 126th Infantry in the reorganization of the National Guard at Camp McArthur, Texas. Overseas with the 32nd Division, with which unit he served during its brilliant career in France. Killed in action Oct. 5, 1918 during the Meuse-Argonne Offensive in the Bois de la Morine, when "Les Terribles" were blasting their way up to the Kriemhilde Stellung. Residence at enlistment: Muskegon, Muskegon County.

EVERETT D. CROCKER, Private, 310th Veterinary Corps, 85th Division. Son of Edwin A. and Elizabeth M. (Bulmer) Crocker, Grand Rapids. Born Mar. 23, 1896 at Grand Rapids. Student. Single. Inducted into Camp Custer Nov. 21, 1917. Assigned to the 310th Veterinary Corps. Died May 8, 1918 at Camp Custer. Buried at Fairplains Cemetery, Grand Rapids. Residence at enlistment: Grand Rapids, Kent County.

HOWARD C. CROMER (2039486), Private, Supply Company, 113th Infantry, 29th Division. Son of James A. and Rosella Cromer, Redford. Born July 27, 1892 at Redford. Farmer. Single. Inducted into Camp Custer Mar. 29, 1918. Trained with the 85th Division and was transferred later to Camp Gordon, Ga. Overseas June, 1918 and was assigned as a replacement to the Supply Company of the 113th Infantry. Killed in action Oct. 12, 1918 during the Meuse-Argonne Offensive, in the attack between Samogneux and Brabant north of Verdun, France. Residence at enlistment: Redford, Oakland County.

ARTHUR FRANCIS CRON, Unassigned, U. S. Marine Corps. Son of William and M. Lena Cron, Detroit. Born Oct. 15, 1899 at Cassella, Ohio. Apprentice electrician. Single. Inducted into Camp Custer Apr. 9, 1918. Assigned to the U. S. Marine Corps and was transferred to Parris Island, S. C., for training. Assigned to an Extra Duty Detachment, known temporarily as Company T. Transferred to the Marine Barracks, Washington, D. C., Nov. 7, 1918. Died of cerebro-spinal meningitis Nov. 29, 1918 at the U. S. Naval Hospital, Washington, D. C. Buried at Detroit. Residence at enlistment: Detroit, Wayne County.

LEWIS CRONIN (2050691), Private, Company K, 339th Infantry, 85th Division. Son of Daniel M. and Eva Mary Cronin, Flushing. Born Jan. 10, 1891 at Lapeer. Farmer. Single. Inducted into Camp Custer May 13, 1918. Assigned to Company K, 339th Infantry. Overseas with the 85th Division and was sent with the 339th Infantry as part of the Allied Forces in Northern Russia. Killed in action Oct. 13, 1918 near Archangel. Residence at enlistment: Flushing, Genesee County.

WALTER B. CRONKITE (2050902), Private, Company C, 7th Infantry, 3rd Division. Son of George W. and Mary B. Cronkite, Kalamazoo. Born Feb. 21, 1890 at Kalamazoo. Pressman. Single. Inducted into Camp Custer May 25, 1918. Assigned to Company K, 337th Infantry. Overseas Aug. 2, 1918 with the 85th Division. Transferred Aug. 24, 1918 to Company C, 7th Infantry as a replacement. Killed in action at Mitchell Farm, Oct. 4, 1918 in the successful attack upon Bois de Cunel and Hill 299 during the Meuse-Argonne Offensive. Residence at enlistment: Kalamazoo, Kalamazoo County.

ALVA CROOK (2982307), Private, Company M, 339th Infantry, 85th Division. Son of Jerry and Katherine Crook, Lakeview, Montcalm County. Born Jan. 3, 1893 at Lakeview. Laborer. Married Sept. 28, 1918 at Lyons, Mich. to Tressie Irene McCall who was born May 20, 1900 in Nawaygo County. Survived by a son Howard Chester Crook. Inducted into Camp Custer June 24, 1918. Assigned to Company M, 339th Infantry. Overseas with the 85th Division. Sent with the "Polar Bears" to North Russia as part of the Allied forces under English Command. Killed in action Apr. 1, 1919 near Archangel, Russia. Residence at enlistment: Barryton, Mecosta County.

RALPH CROSBY, Private, Battery E, 42nd Field Artillery, 14th Division. Son of Frank and Maggie Crosby, Fairgrove. Born Aug. 25, 1894 at Gilford. Farmer. Single. Inducted into Camp Custer Aug. 26, 1918. Assigned to Battery E, 42nd Field Artillery. Had received the appointment of Battery Specialist at the time of his death, which occurred Oct 8, 1918 at Base Hospital, Camp Custer. Buried at Fairgrove. Residence at enlistment: Fairgrove, Tuscola County.

ARCHIE BYRON CROSS (263506), Private, Company C, 128th Infantry, 32nd Division. Son of Warren W. and Anna Cross, Hemlock. Born Apr. 30, 1889 at Swan Creek. Farmer. Single. Inducted into Camp Custer, Sept. 20, 1917. Assigned to Battery B, 328th Field Artillery. Transferred to Camp McArthur, Texas and was assigned to Company K, 125th Infantry. Overseas with the Red Arrow Division. Transferred to Company C, 128th Infantry, when the 32nd Division was designated as a combat unit. Served with his unit throughout its brilliant career in France until Oct. 14, 1918 when he was killed in action during the Meuse-Argonne Offensive in the desperate fighting which resulted in breaking through the Kriemhilde Stellung of the famous Hindenburg Line. Residence at enlistment: Hemlock, Saginaw County.

CHARLES EDWARD CROSS, Seaman, 2nd Class, U. S. Navy. Son of Mrs. Jessie Cross-Blake, Detroit. Enlisted in the U. S. Navy at Detroit, Mar. 31, 1917. Died of spinal meningitis Sept. 20, 1917 at Brooklyn, N. Y. Residence at enlistment: Detroit, Wayne County.

FRED CROSS, Private, Company I, 1st Battalion, 160th Depot Brigade. Son of George William and Mary L. (Bent) Cross, Three Rivers. Born Apr. 29, 1888 near Three Rivers. Farmer. Single. Inducted into Camp Custer Mar. 19, 1918. Assigned to Company I, 1st Battalion, 160th Depot Brigade. Died of pneumonia May 24, 1918 at Base Hospital, Camp Custer. Buried at Riverside Cemetery, Three Rivers. Residence at enlistment: Three Rivers, St. Joseph County.

PATRICK J. CROSS, Sergeant, Instructor in Military Science, Michigan Agricultural College. Son of Andrew Cross (parents both deceased). Born Jan. 22, 1865 in Virginia. Teacher. Married Dec. 31, 1910 at London, Canada to Asenath M. Fowler who was born Nov. 26, 1877 at Watford, Canada. Enlisted Sept. 14, 1881 in Troop A, 3rd Cavalry. Discharged Dec. 13, 1886. Continued in service in the Regular Army. Served in the Spanish-American War as a member of the expeditions to Cuba and to Porto Rico. During the period from Sept. 8, 1899 to Sept. 7, 1902, he was member of Company G, 7th Infantry. April 22, 1900 he was detailed to work in Alaska upon an engineering and exploring expedition. Promoted to 1st Sergeant and was discharged Oct. 4, 1902. Reenlisted in Company I, 3rd Battalion of Engineers Oct. 4, 1902. Stationed in the Philippine Islands where he assisted in the construction of Ft. McKinley at Manila. Was a member of the famous Chandler expedition to Pekin during the Boxer Uprisings. Discharged Oct. 14, 1905 and was retired in 1907 from the Regular Army. Reentered U. S. military service Nov. 8, 1917 and was detailed to active duty at the Michigan Agricultural College as instructor in Military Science and Tactics. Died of a complication of dilation of the heart and acute nephritis Jan. 26, 1918 at East Lansing. Buried at Mount Hope Cemetery, Lansing. Residence at enlistment: East Lansing, Ingham County.

RAPHAEL E. CROSS (2029549), Private, Company F, 28th Infantry, 1st Division. Son of Edward E. Cross, Jackson, and Mary E. Cross (deceased). Born Feb. 3, 1890 at Jackson. Machinist. Single. Inducted into Camp Custer Nov. 22, 1917. Assigned to the 9th Company 3rd Battalion, 160th Depot Brigade. Transferred to Camp Merritt, N. J., Mar. 31, 1918 and assigned to a replacement company. Sailed April 19, 1918 for France and was assigned to Company F, 28th Infantry as a replacement. Served in the Capture of Cantigny, May 28-30, 1918 and in the Second Battle of the Marne, where he was killed in action July 19, 1918, the first day of the great offensive which was to mark the turning point in the war. Residence at enlistment: Jackson, Jackson County.

GORDON M. CROTHERS (281373), Corporal, Company M, 126th Infantry, 32nd Division. Son of Oliver M. Crothers, Clearwater, Fla. and Carrie L. (Casterline) Crothers (deceased). Born May 26, 1894 at Grand Rapids. Inspector, Hirth-Krause Company, Rockford, Mich. Married Oct. 10, 1916 at Rockford to Hazel M. Fisher who was born Oct. 9, 1896 at Rockford. Enlisted in Company I, 32nd Infantry, Michigan National Guard, July 7, 1917. Mustered into U. S. service Aug. 14, 1917 at Camp Ferris, Grayling. Assigned to Company M, 126th Infantry in the reorganization of the National Guard at Camp McArthur, Texas. Left the U. S. for overseas Feb. 18, 1918 with the 32nd Division. Served

in the Alsace Sector and in the Aisne-Marne Offensive where he was killed in action Aug. 1, 1918 in the difficult advance from the Ourcq to the Vesle River. Residence at enlistment: Rockford, Kent County.

OTTO E. CROUCH (2054956), Private, Company B, 4th Infantry, 3rd Division. Son of Arthur Edward Crouch (address unknown) and Mary C. Crouch, Caro. Born Jan. 17, 1896 at Watertown Township, Tuscola County. Mechanic. Single. Inducted into Camp Custer May 27, 1918. Trained and was transported overseas with the 85th Division. Assigned as a replacement to Company B, 4th Infantry. Served with the 3rd Regulars in the Meuse-Argonne Offensive where he was killed in action Oct. 8, 1918. Residence at enlistment: Caro, Tuscola County.

GEORGE AULD CROUTER, Private, Battery I, 349th Company, U. S. Marine Corps. Son of George W. (deceased) and Jennie E. (Phillips) Crouter, Charlevoix. Born Mar. 21, 1893 at Charlevoix. Real Estate Dealer. Married June 23, 1914 at Charlevoix to Dorothy Winthrop Iddings who was born Apr. 26, 1889 at Albion. Entered service June 8, 1918 in the U. S. Aero-nautical School, Urbana, Ill. Discharged from the Air Service July 13, 1918 and was transferred to the U. S. Marine Corps at Parris Island, S. C., July 17, 1918. Assigned to 349th Company. Died of disease Sept. 12, 1918 at Parris Island. Buried at Charlevoix. Residence at enlistment: Charlevoix, Charlevoix County.

WILTON CLIFFORD CROWL (260005), Corporal, 711th Company, Motor Transport Corps. Son of W. C. Crowl, Detroit. Born Jan. 3, 1896 at Chicago, Ill. Educated at the Detroit Central High School, Detroit. Assistant Traffic Manager, Federal Motor Truck Company. Single. Inducted into Camp Custer and was assigned to the 711th Company, Motor Transport Corps. Overseas. Died of pneumonia Jan. 25, 1919 at Camp de Longe, Bordeaux, France. Residence at enlistment: Detroit, Wayne County.

CHARLES CUCHICK (52649), Private, Company B, 26th Infantry, 1st Division. Entered U. S. military service in the Regular Army and was assigned to Company B, 26th Infantry. Overseas with the 1st Division with which unit he served until he received wounds in action during the Meuse-Argonne Offensive from which he died Oct. 8, 1918. Accredited by the War Department to Michigan.

ALONZO BERNARD CUMMINGS, Private, 6th Regiment, U. S. Marine Corps, 2nd Division. Son of H. H. Cummings, East Jordan and Ada (Bilideau) Cummings (deceased). Born Jan. 11, 1895 at Traverse City. Hotel clerk. Single. Enlisted in U. S. marine service May 18, 1917. Transferred to Marine Barracks, Parris Island, S. C. Assigned

to 6th Regiment, U. S. Marines, attached to the 2nd Division. Overseas with the 2nd Regulars, with which unit he served during the spring and summer of 1918. Was engaged in the Aisne-Marne Defensive where the advance of the victorious Germans was finally stopped at Chateau Thierry, and in the 40 days of brilliant fighting in the counter attack, (known as the Aisne-Marne Offensive) which followed that onslaught. Died Oct. 22, 1918 at Base Hospital No. 68, France, from pneumonia resulting from gas wounds received in the service. Residence at enlistment: Grand Rapids, Kent County.

PATRICK J. CUMMINGS (166595), Private, Company A, 16th (Railway) Engineers. Entered U. S. military service in the new National Army and was assigned to Company A, 16th (Railway) Engineers. Transported overseas where he continued in service until his death from disease Sept. 10, 1918 in France. Accredited by the War Department to Michigan.

CHARLES EDWARD CUNNINGHAM (280888), Sergeant, Company K, 126th Infantry, 32nd Division. Son of Edward Cunningham (deceased) and Augusta (Meyer) Cunningham-Pangbourne, Grand Rapids. Born July 31, 1892 at Grand Rapids. Machinist. Single. Enlisted in Company K, 32nd Infantry, Michigan National Guard Aug. 30, 1915. Served on the Mexican Border 1916-1917. Promoted to Sergeant. Mustered into U. S. military service July 15, 1917 at Grand Rapids. Called to Camp Ferris, Grayling, Aug. 14, 1917. Assigned to Company K, 126th Infantry in the organization of the 32nd Division at Camp McArthur, Texas. Overseas with the Red Arrow Division. Served in the Alsace Sector near Hecken, Alsace, where he received wounds May 27, 1918 from which he died July 3, 1918, at Belfort, France. Decorated for gallantry in action with the French Croix de Guerre and the American Distinguished Service Cross. Buried at Grand Rapids. Residence at enlistment: Grand Rapids, Kent County.

JAMES CUNNINGHAM (1367932), Sergeant, Headquarters Detachment, 31st Division. Son of Matthew Neil Cunningham, Crieff, Scotland (mother deceased). Born Aug. 30, 1888 in Scotland. Cashier, Fidelity & Casualty Company, Detroit. Single. Entered U. S. military service May 27, 1918 at Camp Wheeler, Ga. Attached to a Headquarters Detachment of the 31st Division, which was made up of Southern National Guard Troops and drafted men from Illinois and Michigan, assembled at Camp Wheeler. Died of pneumonia Oct. 13, 1918 on board a transport ship at sea. Buried at Hilltop National Cemetery, Hoboken, N. J. Residence at enlistment: Detroit, Wayne County.

JOHN FRANKLIN CUNNINGHAM (4721226), Private, 2nd Recruit Company, Air Service. Son of Thomas (deceased) and Fannie A. Cunningham, Muskegon. Born Nov. 4, 1888 at Muskegon. Laborer. Single. Inducted into Camp Custer, Aug. 23, 1918. Assigned to the 5th Company, 2nd Battalion, 160th Depot Brigade. Transferred to Fort Wayne, Mich., and was assigned to the 2nd Recruit Company, Air Service. Died of pneumonia Jan. 11, 1919 at Fort Wayne. Buried at Muskegon. Residence at enlistment: Muskegon, Muskegon County.

AUGUST JOHN CUPUST (279307), Private, Company M, 128th Infantry, 32nd Division. Entered U. S. military service and was assigned for active duty to Company M, 128th Infantry, 32nd Division. Transported overseas to France where he continued in service until he was killed in action Oct. 15, 1918 in the advance after breaking through the Kriemhilde Stellung during the Meuse-Argonne Offensive. Next of kin: Mrs. Pezin, Burnside, Conn. Residence at enlistment: Michigan.

ALEXANDER CURLEY (263307), Private, Company H, 128th Infantry, 32nd Division. Entered U. S. military service in the Michigan National Guard and was assigned to Company H, 128th Infantry in the reorganization of the National Guard at Camp McArthur, Texas. Trained at Camp McArthur and was transported overseas with the Red Arrow Division. Served in the Alsace Sector and Aisne-Marne Offensives, where he received wounds in action from the result of which he died Aug. 5, 1918. Residence at enlistment: Michigan.

WILLIAM BRYANT CURRY, Sergeant Major, 72nd Field Artillery. Son of William and Mary Curry, Detroit. Born Oct. 30, 1891 at Detroit. Married May 20, 1916 at Detroit to Martha Marie Moritz who was born May 3, 1895 at Detroit. Inducted into U. S. service June 19, 1918. Assigned to Regimental Supply service in the 72nd Field Artillery, Camp Knox, West Point, N. Y. Transferred to Camp Taylor, Louisville, Ky., where he died of disease Oct. 14, 1918. Residence at enlistment: Detroit, Wayne County.

HAROLD CURTIS (2986382), Private, Company C, 329th Machine Gun Battalion, 85th Division. Son of Benjamin (deceased) and Ida (Diver) Curtis, Marshall. Born Oct. 1895 at Marshall. Woodworker. Single. Inducted into Camp Custer, June 27, 1918. Trained and was sent overseas with the 85th Division July, 1918. Died of pneumonia Nov. 13, 1918 in the U. S. Base Hospital, Mesves, France. Residence at enlistment: Marshall, Calhoun County.

LEAL CURTIS, 74th Company, 6th Regiment, U. S. Marines, 2nd Division. Son of W. J. and Cora Curtis, Chicago, Ill. Born June 3,

1893 at Linden. Machinist. Single. Enlisted in U. S. service at Parris Island, S. C., Apr. 17, 1917. Assigned to 74th Company, 6th Regiment, U. S. Marines. Overseas and was attached with his unit to the 2nd Division of the Regular Army. Served with the famous 2nd Division until his death which occurred May 26, 1918 from the effects of gas wounds. Buried at Linden. Residence at enlistment: Linden, Genesee County.

CLAYTON MILES CUSHMAN (297130), Private, 1st Class, Battery A, 119th Field Artillery, 32nd Division. Son of Hiram M. and Mary A. Cushman, Lansing. Born Sept. 18, 1894 at Lansing. Blacksmith. Single. Entered U. S. military service May 8, 1917. Promoted to Chief Horseshoer. Assigned to Battery A, 119th Field Artillery as a horseshoer. Served upon the Mexican Border 1916-1917, as a member of the Michigan National Guard. Overseas with the 32nd Division, with which unit he served until his death. Private Cushman fell accidentally while crossing a bridge and was drowned Sept. 18, 1918 in France. Buried at Mt. Hope Cemetery, Lansing. Residence at enlistment: Lansing, Ingham County.

JOSEPH FRANCIS CUSIC (2469224), Private, Company B, 313th Machine Gun Battalion, 80th Division. Inducted into U. S. military service and was assigned to Company B, 313th Machine Gun Battalion. Overseas to France where he served with his unit in the reserve of the First American Army during the St. Mihiel operations and in the Meuse-Argonne Offensive where he was killed in action Oct. 6, 1918, in the desperate fighting which was involved in the capture of Bois des Ogons near Cunel. Accredited by the War Department to Michigan.

LOWELL FREDERICK CUTLER (1568074), Private, Company C, 117th Supply Train, 42nd Division. Son of Frederick and Minerva Cutler, Benton Harbor. Born Apr. 21, 1893 at Hagar Township, Berrien County. File worker. Single. Inducted into Camp Taylor, Louisville, Ky., Sept. 22, 1917. Trained with the 152nd Infantry and the 334th Infantry. Overseas June 14, 1918 and was assigned to the 117th Supply Train of the Rainbow Division. Died of pneumonia Feb. 7, 1919 at the U. S. Hospital at Coblenz, Germany, while serving with the Army of Occupation. Residence at enlistment: Benton Harbor, Berrien County.

ROBERT MILLER CUTTING, Seaman 2nd Class, U. S. Navy, Reserve Force. Son of Charles Curtis and Maud (Miller) Cutting, Kalamazoo. Born July 28, 1894 at Kalamazoo. Student. Single. Enlisted in the U. S. Navy, Dec. 14, 1917. Assigned to Camp Logan, Great Lakes Naval Training Station, Ill. Transferred to Camp Plunkett, Wakefield, Mass.,

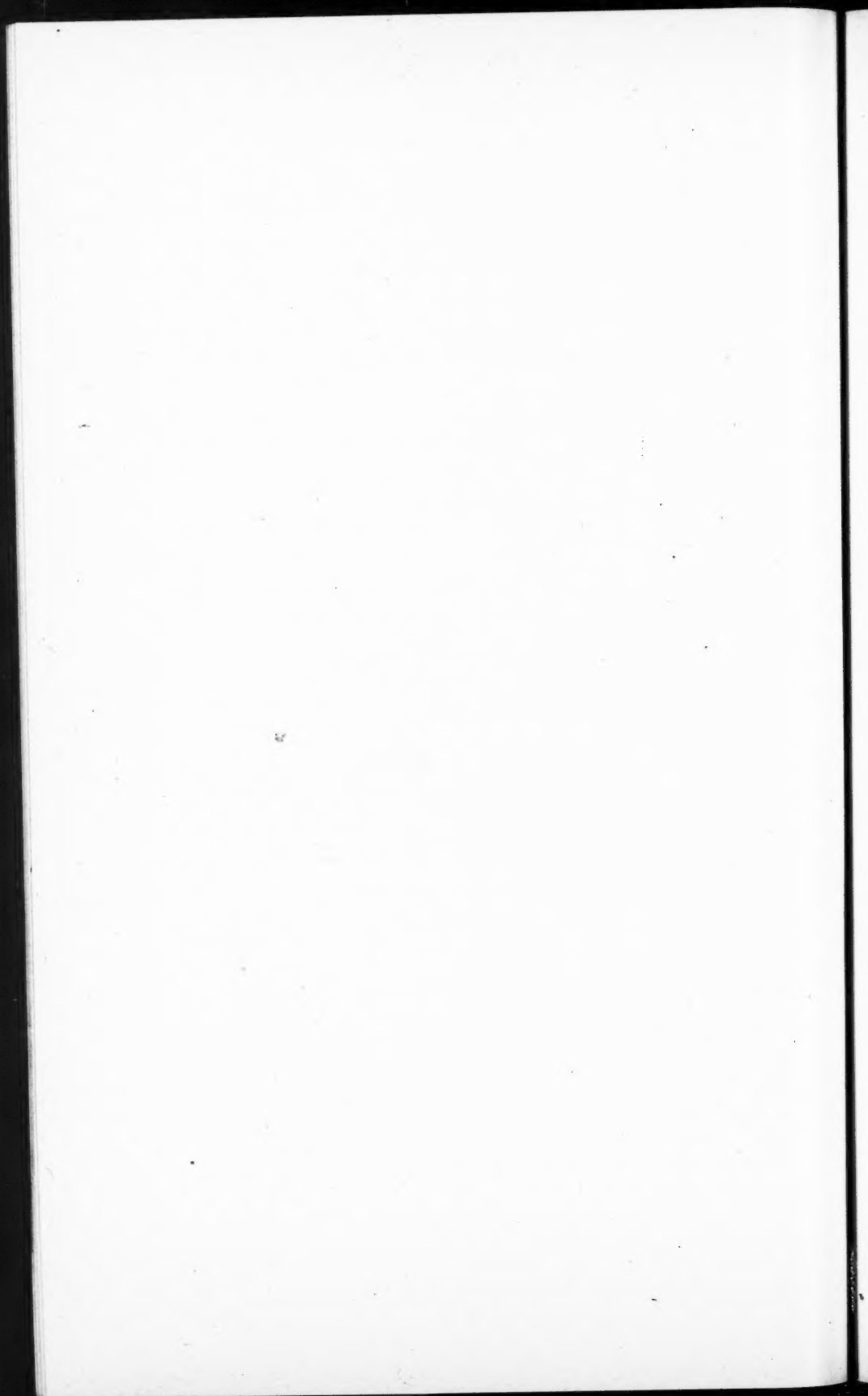
Feb. 13, 1918. Died of diphtheria at Boston City Hospital, Boston, Mass., Apr. 1, 1918. Buried at Riverside Cemetery, Kalamazoo. Residence at enlistment: Kalamazoo, Kalamazoo County.

JOSEPH CWENK (2041692), Private, 1st Class, Company A, 339th Infantry, 85th Division. Born Jan. 1, 1888 at Lubland, Poland. Molder, Ford Motor Car Company. Inducted into Camp Custer where he was assigned to Company A, 339th Infantry in the organization of the 85th Division. Trained at Camp Custer and was transported overseas with his unit. Upon arrival in England the 339th Infantry was detached from the remainder of the Division and sent with the "Polar Bears" to North Russia as part of the Allied Expeditionary Forces in that region under English Command. While serving in that expedition Private Cwenk died of disease Jan. 19, 1919 near Archangel, Russia. Residence at enlistment: Detroit, Wayne County.

LEO J. CYR (2054767), Private, Company B, 329th Machine Gun Battalion, 85th Division. Son of Joseph O. and Eloven Cyr, Bay City. Born Nov. 1, 1892 at Bay City. Single. Inducted into Camp Custer May 30, 1918. Assigned to Company B, 329th Machine Gun Battalion. Trained at Camp Custer and was transported overseas with the 85th Division. Served with his unit until the close of the war. Died of disease Nov. 29, 1918 at U. S. Base Hospital, France. Residence at enlistment: Bay City, Bay County.

SIMON CZECH (56817), Private, 1st Class, Company B, 28th Infantry, 1st Division. Entered military service in the Regular Army and was assigned to Company B, 28th Infantry, 1st Division which had been for months in active service on the Mexican Border prior to the outbreak of the war. Trained with his unit and was transported overseas. Served with the 1st Regulars in the Lunneville Sector near Nancy, in the Ansauville Sector near Toul and in the Cantigny Sector where he was killed in action May 28, 1918 in the first brilliant American exploit of the war. Residence at enlistment: Jackson County.

MARIAN PETER CZYZEWSKI (261536), Private, Company E, 128th Infantry, 32nd Division. Enlisted in U. S. military service and was assigned to Company E, 128th Infantry in the organization of the 32nd Division of the new National Army at Camp McArthur, Texas. Trained with his unit and was transported overseas to France with the 32nd Division. Served with the Red Arrow Division throughout its brilliant career in France until he was killed in action Oct. 5, 1918 in the bloody approach to the Kriemhilde Stellung prior to breaking through the Hindenburg Line. Residence at enlistment: Detroit, Wayne County.



ABOUT BOOKS AND WRITERS

THANKS!

THE publication by the U. S. Department of State of the official papers in Washington concerning the territories of the United States of which volume XII is reviewed in this issue of the Magazine by Dr. F. Clever Bald of Ann Arbor, has been a service of great significance to the nation.

The original purpose of the sponsors, of which the editor of this Magazine was one, of the acts of Congress which authorized the publication of the *Territorial Papers of the United States* was to make available to historical scholars, publishers, lawyers, journalists and others, and to state and local historical societies the essential sources regarding the expansion and evolution of the United States after 1788 and the development of political institutions in the territories out of which new states were created.

It is a high credit to those charged with the grave responsibility of prosecuting the war that they did not overlook or attempt to minimize certain cultural phases of the American system which we were fighting to preserve, of which this was one. These men had a good deal of support to implement their recommendations, from educators, editors, administrators, and others representing every state in the Union, who had a common interest in the preservation of our national ideals and way of life and who realized that only a people informed concerning the struggles and developments of our American past can labor effectively to preserve them.

Foremost among those to whom our gratitude is due for making possible the continued publication of these papers are the chairmen of the national committees, Representative Thomas E. Martin of Iowa and Representative Pete Jarman of Alabama, and Senators Harold H. Burton of Ohio and Carl Hayden of Arizona. In Michigan the Historical Commission, and the State Historical Society contributed their efforts. Governor Kelly, Senators Vandenburg and Ferguson, and all of Michigan's members of Congress lent their support. Among organizations which lent effective support was the "Committee on the Territorial Papers of the United States" of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, chairmaned by a past president of the Association, Dr. Milo M. Quaife of Detroit.

To them and to the score of other leaders who have been contacted and have given generously of their time and leadership in promotion of this project to a successful conclusion of the Michigan volumes, we tender a hearty "Thank you!"

MICHIGAN TERRITORIAL DOCUMENTS

TERRITORIAL PAPERS OF THE UNITED STATES, VOL. XII,
MICHIGAN TERRITORY, 1829-1837.

Edited by Clarence E. Carter. Published by the Federal Govt. 1945.

Every Michiganian has heard of the Boy Governor, the Toledo War, and the Frost Bitten Convention; but how many know that Michigan Territory extended to the Missouri River, that "Iowa" was once a Michigan county, and that lead was at one time the principal metal mined in Michigan? Official documents and personal letters dealing with these and with dozens of other matters are contained in this volume. A plump book of 1378 pages, including an adequate index, it is the third and last of the series on Michigan Territory. The editor of this as well as of the preceding eleven volumes of *Territorial Papers* is Dr. Clarence E. Carter of the United States Department of State.

The period during which the papers printed in this volume were written is an important one in the history of the United States and of Michigan. During these years Andrew Jackson was serving his two terms as President, and the rise of the common man proceeded apace. The West had become a strong and vocal factor in national politics. Sectionalism on vital issues of the time—land policy, internal improvements, and the tariff—became a threat to Union.

Some significant events and developments were the removal of the Indians west of the Mississippi River, Jackson's war on the Bank of the United States, the rise and decline of the Anti-Masonic Party, which called the first national party nominating convention, and the independence of Texas. During this period also, the foundation of the public school system was being laid in a number of states, labor unions were attempting to better the condition of the workingman, and the anti-slavery movement was gaining momentum.

For the only time in the history of our nation, the public debt was paid, and the national treasury was embarrassed by a surplus which Congress decided to distribute to the states. It was a period of optimism and rising prices. Money was eagerly invested in canals and railroads, and the tremendous sales of public lands gave us the phrase "doing a land office business." In fact, the government income from this source in 1836 was \$24,877,000, five times that of 1834.

Many of the events and movements that have been mentioned directly affected the people of Michigan Territory. For instance, the land office at Kalamazoo took in \$467,911.66 during the first quarter of 1836. So great was the press of business that the agents suspended sales for eighteen days in order to bring their books up to date. (p. 1183). The

other offices, which were at Detroit, Monroe, Ionia Center, and Genesee, also were thronged with purchasers, with the result that the proceeds of land sales in Michigan Territory that year were more than one-fifth the total for the whole United States.

Although many of the buyers were speculators, most of them came to find homes. The amazing growth of population is shown by the United States and territorial census figures: 1830-31,369; 1835 (Territorial census, lower peninsula only), 85,856 (p. 1021); and 1840, 212,267.

The Anti-Masonic Party which originated in the East, soon had its partisans in Michigan Territory. They bitterly opposed President Jackson. In 1829, the local party aroused considerable political animosity during the campaign for delegate to Congress, and some of the hostility to Stevens Thomson Mason, when he returned to Detroit from Washington in 1831, after having been appointed Secretary of the Territory by the President, can be traced to this group. (pp. 6, 42-44, 46, 335)

Most of the Indians had been removed from Michigan before this period, but the Black Hawk War (1832) in southern Wisconsin (then a part of Michigan Territory) and northern Illinois sent a thrill of terror across the nation. Michigan militia set out for the scene of hostilities, but soon turned homeward when news came that the rising had been crushed and Black Hawk was a prisoner. A more deadly enemy, however, attacked the people of Michigan as an aftermath of the war. Ships carrying United States troops from the East stopped at Detroit in the summer of 1832, and soldiers sick with cholera communicated the disease to the inhabitants.

In 1834 Michigan Territory attained its greatest area when its boundaries were extended to include all of the region from Lake Michigan west to the Missouri River, and from Missouri and Illinois north to the international line. Wisconsin, Minnesota, Iowa, and part of the Dakotas were later carved out of this vast portion of the national domain.

During the years covered by this volume the long and able administration of Governor Lewis Cass was terminated in 1831 by his appointment to President Jackson's cabinet as Secretary of War; the "Boy Governor" of the Territory, Stevens T. Mason, won the confidence of the people, who, in 1835, elected him governor of the state which remained out of the Union until 1837; the "war" with Ohio over the disputed boundary was fought; and the "frost-bitten" convention in December, 1836, finally accepted the conditions prescribed by Congress as the price of admission to the Union. The last document in the volume is dated December 31, 1836. Congress admitted Michigan as the twenty-sixth state on January 26, 1837.

The large majority of the official documents in this volume, as in the preceding ones of the series, were selected from the files of the Department of State; the War Department, Office of Indian Affairs; the General Land Office; and the United States Senate, which are in the National Archives in Washington. Papers on postal matters are from the files in the Post-Office Department. The House of Representatives files, the Andrew Jackson Papers, and the Henry R. Schoolcraft Papers, from which selections were made by the editor, are in the Manuscript Division of the Library of Congress.

In spite of the great size of the book, it contains only a portion of the papers relating to Michigan Territory during the years 1829-1837. As he explained in an earlier volume, the editor selected principally those which had "a relevancy to administration." His policy also was to omit usually papers which had previously been printed, simply indicating in a footnote where they might be found.

Among the papers excluded partly for lack of space, and also because such matters extended beyond territorial boundaries, were most of those dealing with Indian affairs. Nevertheless, he does cite in footnotes both manuscript and printed sources on the Black Hawk War.

The only fault the reviewer finds with the editor's selection is the great quantity of General Land Office Papers which are printed. Granted that surveying the public lands was an extremely important activity of the period, and that some of the surveyor's letters contain graphic accounts of conditions on the frontier (e.g., Lucius Lyon's letters pp. 390-93), many of them are simply routine correspondence between the Surveyor-General and his deputies in the field. Perhaps by omitting a few of them, the editor might have found space for "two interesting letters dated Nov. 22 and Dec. 15, 1834 (vol. XIX), regarding grants made to the College of Detroit and St. Anne's Church, and the Moran reservation," which he mentions in a footnote on page 769.

Other documents in the volume provide for the reader significant glimpses of the lives of the people and their relations with the national government. For instance, there are a great many petitions addressed to Congress. Contrary to the mythical figure of the strong, silent, self-sufficient pioneer, one finds that in groups he was vocal enough, or at least willing to subscribe to a memorial composed by a literate leader. These petitions asked for all sorts of benefits: the inhabitants of the mining country on the Upper Mississippi urged a reduction in the 10 per cent of lead taken by the government as rent, and for a prohibitory duty on imported lead (pp. 93-98); lumber dealers at Detroit begged for tariff protection against Canadian competitors (pp. 207-08); a meeting of citizens at Detroit requested Congress to complete the road to Chicago, improve the navigation of the St. Joseph River, build a canal

at Sault Ste Marie, and provide for a canal or a railroad from Detroit to Chicago (pp. 365-69); and seventeen inhabitants of Washtenaw County petitioned for the grant of not less than one section of land to each signer for "encourageing [*sic*] the growth and manufacture of Silk in this Territory" (pp. 444-45).

These and other petitions are useful not only because they exhibit the needs and desires of the settlers, but also because to most of them are appended the names of signers, thus providing at least a partial list of the inhabitants of various communities at the time.

Papers dealing with government are numerous and enlightening. Some of them emphasize the primitive conditions and the hardships endured by officials. For instance, a letter written by Judge James Duane Doty, "Additional Judge" for Mackinac, Brown and Crawford counties, explains that to hold court at Mackinac Island, Green Bay and Prairie du Chien, he must travel each year 1360 miles by water, "and usually in a birch bark canoe" (p. 140). His salary was \$1200.

The justices of the Territorial Supreme Court traveled farther than he. In 1833, Judges Solomon Sibley, George Morell, and Ross Wilkins petitioned Congress for an increase in their salaries, which also were \$1200. In support of their plea, they cited additional duties imposed since the salary was established in 1807. Besides sitting in Detroit as the Supreme Court and the United States District Court, they served as judges of the Circuit Court in Detroit and in the several counties. In performing this last duty, they declared that they traveled annually 1600 miles. (P. 575) A statement of the duties of the judges on page 762 gives the total mileage as 1,463)

A great deal of space is given to papers dealing with the controversy over the Michigan-Ohio boundary. In addition, the editor has cited many published Senate and House documents which may be consulted by those who want to look farther into this affair. Stevens T. Mason became the popular hero, fighting valiantly to retain the southern strip of land for Michigan. That the question of jurisdiction was too delicate for the General Land Office to decide is shown by a contract dated August 31, 1833, which describes the tract to be surveyed as "on the Southeast side of Maumee River and Bay, in the state of Ohio and Territory of Michigan. . . ." (p. 861, n.)

Acting-Governor Mason's cause was hopeless, for the administration in Washington was against him. President Jackson sent two commissioners to take a hand in the affair, and even Secretary of War Cass went to Detroit to exert a calming influence on Mason. The latter, however, maintained his policy until Jackson removed him from office and sent John Horner to replace him in September, 1835. Shortly thereafter, the people elected Mason governor of the State of Michigan. The docu-

ments show that Horner, in spite of his unpopularity, was in Michigan as late as January 24, 1836, although some accounts have it that he was driven from the Territory a week after his arrival. (p. 1102)

Other documents printed here prove that the existence of Michigan as a state, although not in the Union, was recognized by Secretary Cass, who on August 27, 1836, addressed Mason as "His Excellency . . . Governor of Michigan." (p. 1211) The Secretary of the Treasury also addressed Mason as Governor. He declared, however, that public money could not lawfully be deposited within its boundaries "until the State of Michigan is admitted to the Union." (p. 1215)

Limitations of space preclude any further discussion of the contents of the book. In brief, Volume XII is a worthy companion to the others in this series. News from Washington that a resolution passed by Congress provides for the completion of the *Territorial Papers* is as welcome to students of American history as it must have been to Dr. Carter.

MICHIGAN'S MISSING DOMAIN

By M. M. Quaife

Do you know that Michigan is a poor second to Nevada or Nebraska or either of the Dakotas, not to mention Iowa or Idaho or Oklahoma, in the matter of area of its waters? Or that when you look in your Webster's Dictionary or your Rand-McNally Atlas or your World Almanac for the total area of the United States, the figure you will find is wrong by a mere matter of 60,422 square miles? Or that for "statistical" reasons the U. S. Census Bureau, upon whose findings our atlas and encyclopaedia makers depend for their information, fixes the northern boundary of the United States at the southern shore line of the Great Lakes, and treats these magnificent bodies of water, containing almost one-half of all the fresh water on earth, as non-existent vacuities?

Well, neither did we until Chase S. and Stellanova Osborn began asking some troublesome questions of the atlas and almanac makers a few years ago. When these learned gentlemen cited the U. S. Census Bureau and the U. S. Geological Survey as their authority for such statements as that Michigan contains 500 square miles of water area,¹ the questioners turned their attention to these agencies.* Sixty thousand four hundred square miles exceeds the area of any one of more than half the states in the Union, including such commonwealths as New

¹This figure was given in the 1930 census. In the 1940 census it was changed to 1194 square miles, a figure still smaller than the ones given for Washington or Wisconsin or North Carolina or New York, or Louisiana, Texas, Florida, Maine, Minnesota, California, and Utah!

York and Pennsylvania, Ohio and Illinois, and Iowa. Can it be that the existence of so large a portion of the United States is a secret known only to the Osborns and carefully concealed from the scholars who compile the U. S. census returns? Far from it; trust the Osborns to make these savants completely, even painfully, aware of the fact, and to insist that they do right by the Nation and by our Great Lakes States by presenting in intelligible fashion the correct figures concerning their respective areas.

Of course the Washington authorities had an explanation (more properly, several explanations) of their procedure. For one, they wished to keep "our statistics of area upon the basis usual in foreign countries" and so it was decided that the Great Lakes, along with Long Island Sound and certain other salt-water indentations of our coast line "should be excluded from the inland waters in the main table but presented in footnotes with the water areas of the several States." For another, it was deemed appropriate "to avoid publishing areas in such a manner as to arouse a storm of legal and political controversy, yes, and manifestations of state patriotism! There is an American phobia for bigness. Michigan with her Great Lakes water area expands from 58,216 to 96,720 square miles; from the state listed 21st in size to that of 9th in size; from the second largest state east of the Mississippi to by far the largest.² These matters might seem trivial but many a tempest has started in just such a teapot. Might not other states, Georgia, for instance, insist that the Census remeasure their areas and force the inclusion of Coastal water areas to which they feel they have a legal claim"?

The exposition concluded with a listing of numerous more or less fanciful claims, American and foreign, to dominion *over coastal salt water areas*, concerning which the self-same paragraph admits that "no certainty in international law exists relative to the limits of the sea and there has been a wide divergence of opinion." Finally, "the principal work of area measurement has been done in Europe and the United States"; and European practice does not include such bodies of water as the Baltic, Mediterranean, and Black Seas in reckoning their national areas.

To which balderdash the Osborns, with head bloody but unbowed, rejoin, What have the admittedly uncertain claims to territorial dominion over portions of the high seas (the recognized common possession of all the World) to do with the unquestioned and unquestionable sovereignty of the United States, and of the several Great Lakes States, over their respective portions of the Great Lakes? By political docu-

²Here the spokesman for the Census Bureaus errs again: properly corrected, his statement would read, "from the state listed 22nd in size to that of 10th in size; from the third largest state east of the Mississippi to by far the largest."

ments as solemn as the wit of man has ever devised their boundaries have been permanently and definitely established. The Treaty of Paris of 1783 fixed the international boundary through the middle of the Great Lakes, and so thoroughly has it since been determined by geodetic and other surveys that even though the waters of the lakes should disappear the boundary would remain fixed. The Ordinance of 1787, the various enabling acts of the Great Lakes States, the constitutions of the states themselves, and certain pertinent U. S. Supreme Court decisions have established the water boundaries of these states no less definitely than their boundaries by land. The slipshod thinking of the Federal apologist who speaks of certain states as "adjoining" the Great Lakes has no factual application either to geography or to political science. Both the Nation and the several states *embrace* their respective Great Lakes areas as completely as New York embraces Lake Chautauqua or as Massachusetts embraces Walden Pond.

The diatribe concerning the "American phobia for bigness" invites the question whether the Census Bureau is an agency for the dissemination of statistical data or an Emily Post advice-on-etiquette bureau. One may admit that Americans are sometimes boastful and ill-mannered, but when did it become the duty of the Census Bureau to lecture them on matters of conduct? or to jumble and confuse the demonstrable truth about the area of Michigan to the end that the people of Georgia may continue to nourish the delusion that theirs is the larger state? And since when, or why, has it become reprehensible for the people of Michigan and the other Great Lakes state to assert their true rank among the States of the Union?

A further argument of the apologist from the Census Bureau is that water areas are not comparable to land areas, and it would be misleading from such points of view as a comparison of number of inhabitants per square mile, production per square mile, and "similar unit area statistics" to compare the true area of Michigan with its 38,504 square miles of Great Lakes waters with that of such an inland State as Kentucky. This invites, of course, the fundamental question, what is the meaning and value of area statistics? Pigs may be pigs in any language, but in the eyes of the Director of the U. S. Census square miles are not square miles when they happen to pertain to the Great Lakes portions of such States as Michigan and Wisconsin instead of to their dry land areas.

Of course the Osborns promptly countered this statistical perversion by pointing out that, devoid of accompanying explanation, area figures denote simply area and nothing more. The mere statement of the area of a State implies nothing as to its density of population or its "production per square mile," or indeed anything else save its simple

dimensional expanse. Nevada, almost all of whose expanse is very dry land, has a larger area than Michigan with its 38,504 square miles of Great Lakes waters, included, yet its population density is less than one person per square mile to Michigan's 61 persons with its Great Lakes water area included in the computation. Further, within the State of Michigan itself the overwhelming portion of both population and wealth is found in the southern end of the Lower Peninsula, south of the Bay City-Muskegon line, while north of this line the State is still "a sparsely-settled wilderness of woods and waters." Between the "production per square mile" figures of such southerly counties as Lenawee or Berrien and such northerly ones as Mackinac and Alger the gulf is so great that any state-wide generalization concerning either production or population per square mile would be as completely meaningless for Michigan's land area alone as for its entire area.

Oddly enough, the Osborns' argument for a clear presentation by the Census Bureau of the figures for the total area of the Nation and that of the several States proved convincing to Director Austin, who on February 7, 1940 definitely promised that in its Population Report of the forthcoming 1940 census, the Census Bureau would include "a table showing the total area, land area, and water area of each State, with a footnote specifying the Great Lakes which is included in the State area figures." "Cheered and encouraged" by this decision they rested from their Sisyphean labors, secure in the knowledge that they had compelled official recognition of the true area of the Nation and the several Great Lakes States. No longer would the compilers of atlases and other works of reference have justification for depriving Michigan of four-tenths of her area, or withholding her rightful ranks as the largest State east of the Mississippi and the 10th in the Nation. No longer would America present to the world the absurd spectacle of her highest official agency denying the existence of an area larger in extent than the United Kingdoms of Great Britain and practically as large as the six New England States combined.

But their satisfaction was short lived. A year passed, a new acting-Director assumed control of the Census Bureau and quite without prior notice to the Osborns or to Congressman Fred Bradley, who had added his influence and efforts to their own in presenting the matter, on April 11, 1941 the Bureau released its bulletin on the *Land and Water Area of the United States by States: 1940*, with no change from the presentation of figures for Michigan given in the census of 1930.³ To justify this reversal of the Bureau's decision as reached by Mr. Austin the year before, Acting-Director Reed resorted to the old line of arguments

³This action Congressman Bradley characterized as "a rather vicious political double cross." Letter to Governor Osborn, April 24, 1941.

which had long since been convincingly reputed by the Osborns, and which to some extent have been traversed in our foregoing paragraphs. Real nub of the matter, however, was evidently a bureaucratic fear lest by recognizing the undisputed facts concerning the area of Michigan, the Bureau would stir up a "hornets' nest" of clamor for like recognition of the disputed and more or less fanciful claims of Louisiana and other seaboard states to jurisdiction over adjoining portions of their adjacent oceans. In short, because these states have advanced dubious and as yet unrecognized claims to jurisdiction over adjacent portions of the high seas, the simple truth concerning the area of Michigan, established beyond question and disputed by no one, must continue to be concealed.

Here the matter rests at the present writing. Confident that common-sense and truth must eventually prevail, the Osborns have resumed their task. On April 11, 1945 Governor Kelly signed an act⁴ passed by both houses of the Michigan State Legislature declaring the total area of the State to be 96,720 square miles, "consisting of 57,022 square miles of land and 39,698 square miles of inland water," and all official publication of the State in which "the total area, total land area, or total water area" are stated are required to employ these figures.

Most recent step of the Osborns is the publication of the 177-page octavo volume, *Errors in Official U. S. Area Figures*, setting forth all the data, arguments, correspondence, and official documents pertaining to the case to date.

Before closing our recital of the matter we deem it pertinent to emphasize anew the essential fallacy of the Washingtonian conception that the waters of the Great Lakes are a sterile vacuity, relatively unimportant in comparison with the land area of the Nation.⁵ The Osborns have correctly refuted this fallacy, and in so doing have dwelt upon the climatic, recreational, and health-giving blessings bestowed upon us by the Great Lakes. Here is practically half of the fresh water on the face of the globe and Michigan alone possesses 4/9 of it. Here is a 1000 mile highway with the richest deposits of iron ore in the world at one end and the coal fields and industrial cities of Wisconsin, Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, Michigan, and Pennsylvania at the other. But for the uninterrupted flow of the ore from the northern mines to the southern mills in the years from 1940 to 1945, America and her Allies would have been hopelessly crippled in fighting the recent war, and Adolph Hitler would today be master of the civilized world. Until the Axis powers were defeated the most important point on the continent of North America was

⁴Titled in Governor Osborne's honor.

⁵Which includes, of course, the sage-brush deserts of the western plains, the largely uninhabitable areas of the Rocky Mountains, and the similar uninhabitable swamp lands of Florida and Georgia.

the Sault Canal and locks, whose destruction by hostile bombs would have stayed the flow of the metal without which the Allied armies and navies would have been unable to function. Coming to normal times of peace, an ample supply of pure water is essential to the operations of modern industry. Without it, large industries cannot exist, and in the Great Lakes the industrial centers which crowd the shores of Lake Michigan and Lake Erie possess the world's chief inexhaustible supply. The longest freight carriers on earth shuttle ceaselessly across four of our Great Lakes throughout eight months of each year, bearing the world's densest commerce at by far the cheapest commercial rates. For 80 cents—less than the expressman's charge for delivering your 150-pound trunk a single mile—a ton of ore is carried 1000 miles; and a cargo of 15,000 tons is discharged in less than half fifteen hours. To the Great Lakes, in short, with their marvelous deposits of iron adjoining Lake Superior and their no less marvelous wealth of coal adjoining Erie and Michigan, America chiefly owes her current industrial leadership of the world. Yet to the minds of the gentlemen who compile our census, all these things count as nothing in comparison with the illimitable riches of the Arizona and Nevada deserts or the swamp lands of the southeastern United States.

To return again to the Osborns: "When statistics wear the crown, then truth indeed may tremble!" In her possession of an unrivalled wealth of fresh water, Michigan is unique in all the world. But until the directors of our census rally sufficient courage to serve the simple truth instead of bowing to the dictates of supposed political policy, the rest of the world is likely to remain in ignorance of our good fortune.

DETROIT TO BUFFALO

LAKE ERIE. By Harlan Hatcher. 416 pp. Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1945. Price \$3.50.

By George R. Stewart.

In the last few years it has been my fortune, and sometimes my misfortune, to read and review a large number of volumes of regional Americana. Of all which I remember, I would rate "Lake Erie" as the most scholarly—and when I say "most scholarly," I mean in effect "best," for I am not one to define it as "dull and poorly written."

Too many writers of such books seem to have rushed in without ever considering just what they were going to do. Mr. Hatcher, however, seems first to have questioned closely, "Just what is Lake Erie?" Having decided to include the water from Detroit to Buffalo and the imme-

diately adjacent lands, he then learned everything, within reason, about it. Then he planned a well proportioned book, not straying beyond the limits of the field and not neglecting anything of note within the field. Finally he wrote his text in clean and straight English.

Mr. Hatcher is the author of "The Great Lakes," a general work of which "Lake Erie" may be considered a kind of special volume. He is also professor of English and dean at the Ohio State University. When I read also that he is a Doctor of Philosophy, I feel encouraged to think that the discipline of that degree is reflected in the scholarship, proportion and good structure of the book.

"Lake Erie" is a noble monument in our local literature. Those who live in Detroit, Toledo, Cleveland and Buffalo should furnish the chief body of its readers, but the other shore-dwellers will find their towns included.

Being encyclopedic in its scope and thoroughness, the book also becomes in places encyclopedic in style, listing a few too many steamers and people. This reaches its height in the alphabetical cataloging (from Arctic Iron Company to Youngstown Sheet and Tube Company) of the eighteen corporations for which a certain Cleveland business man serves as director. (It sounds like a parody of the listing of Wellington's titles with which Guedalla adorned the last chapter of his biography.)

I am also surprised that Dean Hatcher treated his subject so preponderately in terms of captains of industry, bigger steamers, more iron ore and deeper channels, with comparatively so little concern for the common people and the immaterial virtues. Western Reserve University and the Buffalo Historical Society are mentioned in passing; the Hulett ship-unloader gets two pages as the climax of a chapter.

But Mr. Hatcher ought to know better than I, and perhaps that is the way such things are weighted around Lake Erie. In any case, I end by emphasizing again that the volume is a notable achievement and an outstanding contribution to our regional literature.—From *The New York Times Book Review*.